

A
COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY
OF
INDIA

CIVIL MILITARY AND SOCIAL

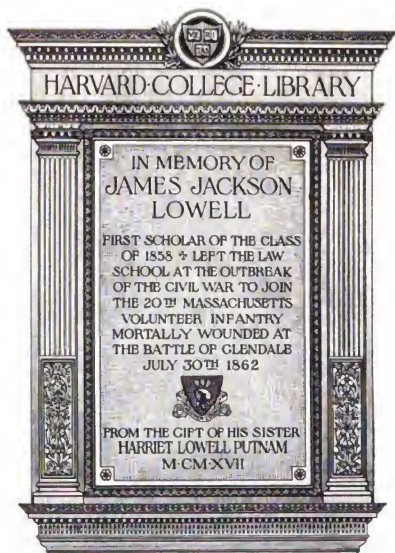
*A comprehensive history of India,
civil, military, and social, from ...*

Henry Beveridge

BLACKIE & SON
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH & LONDON.

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A COMPREHENSIVE
HISTORY OF INDIA,
CIVIL, MILITARY, AND SOCIAL,

FROM THE

FIRST LANDING OF THE ENGLISH, TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT;
INCLUDING AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

By HENRY BEVERIDGE, Esq.,

ADVOCATE.

ILLUSTRATED BY

ABOVE FIVE HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD AND STEEL.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA forms a most attractive subject of study for all classes of readers. While the more imaginative, allured and fascinated by the legendary period, dwell with wonder on the strange and uncouth creations to which superstition has given "a local habitation and a name," those of more sober fancy naturally turn to the period when the details become authentic, and delight particularly in the narratives of the hardy Voyagers, who, notwithstanding fearful odds, contended with the Portuguese and the Dutch for mastery in the Eastern Seas, and in the toils undergone and the bold exploits performed by those who, from a handful of merchants, at first intent only on peaceful traffic, rose to be the founders of a mighty Empire. In the remarkable series of events thus brought under review, we see the humblest beginnings gradually leading, under the guidance of British enterprise and prowess, to the most magnificent results—feeble factories converted into forts, and made the centres of permanent settlements—desperate struggles for existence succeeded by aspirations after dominion—powerful combinations of native Princes and European rivals defeated by indomitable courage and perseverance—great battle-fields—deeds of heroic daring—moving incidents by flood and field—and a glorious roll of statesmen and warriors, emblazoned with such names as Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellington, Bentinck, Hardinge, and Napier. The rise, progress, and actual position of an Empire thus wonderfully established, and now justly regarded as one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown, furnish ample materials for a narrative of surpassing interest—a narrative of which, even for its own sake, few would willingly remain ignorant, and with which every British subject who understands his position and feels his responsibility must long to be thoroughly acquainted.

At a time of imagined tranquillity, when our supremacy in the East was fixed on a broader and apparently a firmer basis than at any previous period, the arm too confidently

trusted in has been suddenly lifted up against us, and mutiny on the most gigantic scale, and in the most hideous form, has filled every breast with horror and indignation. How this mutiny burst forth with the suddenness, and raged with the devastating fury of a tornado, will form a deeply interesting, though painful portion of the History. Need we hesitate to add that a more gratifying section is destined to record its triumphant suppression? The great task already so nobly begun will doubtless be as nobly completed by our gallant Army. It must not be supposed, however, that, when the military struggle shall have terminated, Indian affairs will at once settle down and continue to flow smoothly in their ancient channel. Whether important administrative changes may not be necessary—and whether, in order to secure a full development of its almost inexhaustible resources, India ought not, like our Colonial Possessions, to be thrown fully open to British enterprise, and placed directly under the control of the Imperial Government—are momentous questions, which have been already mooted, and in the solution of which the people of this country will soon be called to take an active part. That they may enter upon this duty with the wisdom and foresight which its importance demands, the first step obviously is to obtain a full and accurate knowledge, not merely of the Military Annals of India, but likewise of the various tribes of people by which it is inhabited; their religious systems, their laws, their manners and customs, and, more especially, those singular social forms which, though apparently ill fitted for perpetuity, are known to have subsisted, almost without change, for more than two thousand years. To supply, in a pleasing and instructive form, such an account of our Eastern Empire as may at once meet the wants of the present time, and command general confidence by its accuracy and impartiality, will be the great aim of the **COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA**.

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CIVIL MILITARY AND SOCIAL



ELLORA
THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLE OF KYLAS

VOL I

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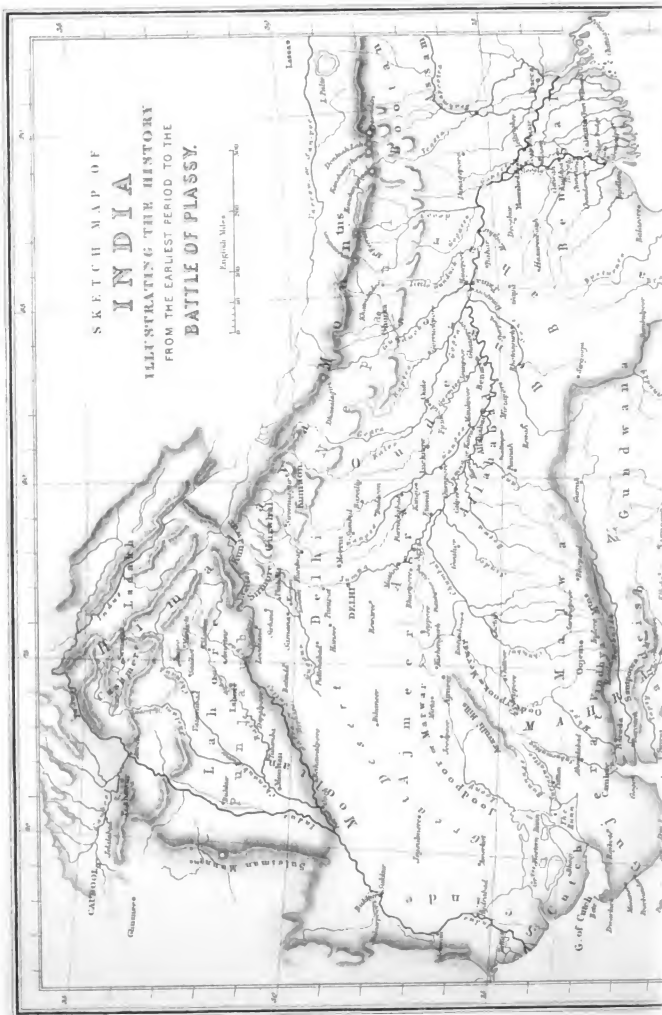
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SKETCH MAP OF
INDIA
 ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY
 FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE
BATTLE OF PLASSY.





BLACKIE & SON GLASGOW EDINBURGH & LONDON



A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.



LONG after the name of India had become familiar in the earliest seats of civilization in the Mediterranean, little more was known of the country designated by it, than that it was a region of vast extent situated in the far East, near the outermost verge of the known world. From the inhabitants themselves no satisfactory information could be obtained. Accustomed to veil everything in mystery, they divided the terrestrial globe into seven *deeps* or islands, each encompassed by its own peculiar ocean; and placing the habitation of the human race in Jummoodeep, which is nearest the centre, and consists partly of Meru, a mountain of gold of enormous height, reaching as far beneath as above the surface, appropriated to themselves one of its most highly favoured localities.¹ The notions of the Greeks, though disfigured and obscured by fable, were of a more definite description. Instead of allowing his fancy to run riot, Herodotus diligently consulted the few sources of knowledge within his reach, and honestly communicated the result. According to him, India was, as its name implies, the country drained by the Indus, and consisted of two great divisions—a western, which was included in the Persian empire, and formed the largest, as well as the most productive of the twenty satrapies or provinces into which that empire was then divided; and an eastern, which, stretching beyond the limits supposed to be habitable, terminated in a sandy desert.² Crude as these ideas are, so little was done to correct or enlarge them, that when Alexander, during his celebrated expedition, first reached the Indus, he mistook it for the Nile. Fortunately he took the most effectual means to undeceive himself, by fitting out a fleet, and giving the command of it to Nearchus, who, after descending the river to its mouth in the ocean, continued his course westwards along the shores of the Arabian Sea, and finally

Ancient
ideas of In-
dian geo-
graphy.

Hindoo ideas.

Greek no-
tions.

Alexander's
expedition.

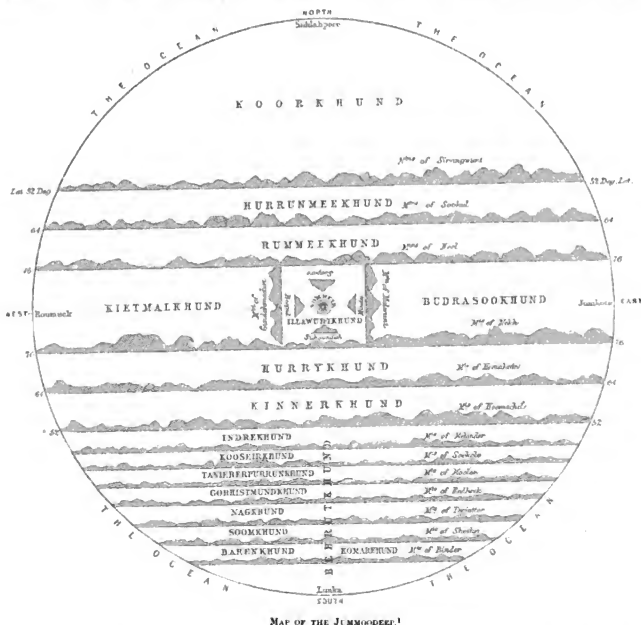
¹ Gladwin's *Aycea Akbery*, vol. iii. p. 23, *et seq.*, with its curious map, illustrative of Hindoo geography.

² *Herodotus*, book iii. 97-106.

arrived in the Persian Gulf. Alexander, who had accompanied Nearchus in his descent, afterwards accomplished the rest of the distance overland.

Ptolemy and
Strabo.

Two great routes to India had thus been simultaneously explored. As a



natural consequence, regular intercourse with it rapidly increased, and both its figure and dimensions began to be better understood. Ample evidence of this is furnished by the works of Strabo and Ptolemy, and yet it cannot be denied, that with all their industry and sagacity, they have rather distorted than delineated India. The maritime portion, in particular, is miserably curtailed, and its characteristic projection, instead of forming the vertex of a triangle, is con-

¹ This map, though sufficiently curious, could scarcely be made more intelligible by any amount of explanation. It is fanciful throughout, and all the attempts which have been made to find fixed localities for its cardinal points, and its ranges of mountains, have failed. The ocean surrounding Jummoodee is the only one which looks like reality, because it is said to consist of salt water. The other six oceans beyond it consist in succession of milk, milk curds, ghee or clarified butter, sugar-cane juice, wine, and fresh water.

verted into the side of a square.¹ It is not difficult to account for this serious blunder, which, indeed, is only one of the many which it was impossible to avoid, so long as the only accounts of the country were derived from travellers who reached it by journeying across inhospitable deserts, or navigators who, in the infancy of their art, effected a long and perilous passage by following the windings of the intervening shores. A great advance was made when the Portuguese doubled the Cape of Good Hope. From that time, the Indian coast became accessible in all directions, and its outline was easily traced. To map out the interior was a work of greater difficulty—a work in which little progress could be made while the struggle for supremacy in the East remained undecided. No sooner, however, were the foundations of our Indian empire securely laid,

Portuguese
discoveries.



INDIA, ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.

than the necessity of obtaining a thorough knowledge of its surface was urgently felt. Accordingly, in addition to district surveys, one embracing the country in all its length and breadth has been undertaken at the instance of government, and carried on with all the aids which the refinements of modern science supply. In this way, most of the blanks in Indian geography have been filled up, and a map, not unworthy of the vast and magnificent country which it delineates, is advancing to completion.

Modern geo-
graphy.

In the course of the following work, the important purposes to which the valuable materials accumulated by these surveys are applicable will often be

¹ Forbiger's *Handbuch der alten Geographie*, particularly the illustrative maps in vol. i

come apparent; but in the meantime it seems impossible to employ them to better account than in furnishing the groundwork of a brief sketch, which, in exhibiting the leading features of the geography of India, will be at once an appropriate introduction and a useful guide to the study of its history.

India: its extent and boundaries.

India, taken in its widest sense as a common name for all the contiguous territories in Asia, which are directly or indirectly subject to British rule, lies between 8° and 37° north latitude, and 66° and 99° east longitude. Within these limits, which extend north and south from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and west and east from Afghanistan and Beloochistan to the Burman empire, it covers an area of a million and a half of square miles, and contains one hundred and eighty millions of inhabitants. As these enormous numbers are not easily comprehended, a more definite idea may be formed, by considering that the space is about twelve times, and the population six times greater than those of the British Islands. The portion of these vast dominions lying east of the Bay of Bengal, consisting chiefly of acquisitions from the Burmese, are only politically associated with India; and, having few features in common with it, may for the present be left out of view. The other and far larger portion, to which the name of India is more properly applied, forms one compact whole, and is, for the most part, well defined by natural boundaries. According to a division of ancient date, it consists of Hindoostan and the Deccan—the former designation meaning the Land of the Hindoo, and the latter the Land of the South. The line of demarcation between the divisions is marked by the Vindhya Mountains, which stretch irregularly across the country from sea to sea, between the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges.

Divisions.

Hindoostan, thus defined, includes the whole of India which lies contiguous to other parts of the Asiatic continent, and consists almost entirely of two great river basins—that of the Indus in the west, and that of the Ganges in the east. Both basins have a common and magnificent boundary in the north, where the Himalaya, by far the loftiest mountain system in the world, with snowy summits which, measured from the level of the sea, have more than five miles of vertical height, diverges as from a central nucleus in opposite directions—on the one hand, sloping north-west, and giving its waters chiefly to the Indus, and on the other, curving round toward the east, and supplying innumerable feeders to the Ganges. The basin of the Indus has its greatest length from north to south, and, with exception of the beautiful valley of Cashmere and of the Punjab, is remarkable for a barrenness, which, in its lower part, becomes so great that cultivation is confined to the breadth of a few miles on either side of the river, while the adjacent country is converted into a desert. This desert, stretching away to the east and north-east for several hundred miles, has its occasional oases, but is, for the most part, a sandy waste, monotonous and dreary in the extreme.

Basin of the Indus.

On entering the basin of the Ganges, a striking contrast is presented. On

the north side, the Himalaya, descending by a series of magnificent terraces with parallel or intersecting valleys, approaches the edge of an immense plain of surpassing beauty and fertility, sloping gently from west to east, and traversed near its centre by a majestic river. On both sides, chiefly from the Himalaya, but partly also from the Vindhya range, it is joined by numerous tributaries, which so augment its volume that it becomes in a manner encumbered with its spoils, and unable to carry them along in one undivided channel. Accordingly, in the lower part of its course, it throws off numerous branches, which form a kind of network across its delta. A little lower down it communicates with the Brahmapootra, coming from the east, and carrying a volume of water little if at all inferior to its own. The difficulty of discharge is thus greatly increased, and can only be met by an additional number of outlets. In the dry season, these flow within their banks, and have the appearance of independent streams; but when the waters rise, a sudden overflow takes place, and the whole country is covered for many miles around with one vast inundation. A similar result is produced on the lower flats of the Indus; and one consequence is, that both rivers become far less available for navigation than might be supposed from the volumes of water which they carry. The channels becoming shallow and attenuated in proportion to their number, it is difficult to find any single one which large vessels can safely use.

Basin of the
Ganges.

The two great basins now described do not completely exhaust the whole area included within the Himalaya and the Vindhya range; and therefore it is necessary to mention, that the ramifications of the range cover a considerable tract of great beauty and fertility, which belongs to what has been called Central India, and is drained by the independent basins of the Nerbudda and the Taptee, which carry its waters west to the Gulf of Cambay.

Central
India.

The Deccan, the other great division of India, is washed by the ocean on all sides but one, and is hence, though not with strict accuracy, usually described as a peninsula. It is in the form of an immense triangle, which rests on the Vindhya range as its base, and terminates in Cape Comorin as its vertex. Of its two sides, one running S.S.E. in an almost unbroken line, faces the Arabian Sea, the other, whose continuity is more broken, lies south-west, and faces the Bay of Bengal. Names so common as not to be unworthy of notice serve to distinguish the lower halves of the sides—that on the west being usually designated as the Malabar, and that on the east as the Coromandel coast.

The Deccan.

The structure of the Deccan is very simple. Not far from the opposite extremities of the Vindhya range, whose greatest height is not supposed to exceed 3000 feet, two mountain chains proceed, and stretch southward in directions nearly parallel to the coasts. That on the west, called the Western Ghauts, is continued to Cape Comorin. Its loftiest summits, which are situated between lat. 10° and 15°, rise to about 6000 feet. Towards the sea, from which it seldom recedes more than forty miles, it is very precipitous; towards the

Western
Ghauts.

land, which in many parts, almost equals it in height, its slope is always gradual, and occasionally imperceptible. On both sides it is clothed with magnificent timber, and displays much grand scenery.

Eastern
Ghauts.

The Eastern Ghauts is a less elevated and tamer range. Its loftiest summits are not above 3000 feet, and its distance from the sea is so considerable that the descent is seldom abrupt. In its course southwards, instead of being continued to the extremity, it stops about midway, and turning gradually south-west, meets with a transverse range called the Neilgherry Hills, which have summits exceeding 7000 feet, and by which it becomes linked with the Western Ghauts.

Deccan
table land.

In this way a new triangle, with sides composed of mountain ranges, is formed within that of the Deccan, and incloses an elevated table-land, which has a gradual but continuous slope eastward from the Western Ghauts to the sea. In accordance with this slope, all the rivers of any magnitude—the Mahanuddy, the Godavery, the Krishna, the Pennar, the Pelar, and the Coleroon or Cavery, carry the drainage to the Bay of Bengal. This table-land cannot boast the fertility of the basin of the Ganges, because, while it is exposed to a more scorching heat, it has no streams fed by perpetual snow. The torrents of rain, however, which periodically descend on the Western Ghauts, compensate in some degree for this defect, and provide the means of a system of irrigation, which, carried on by collecting the superfluous water in immense tanks during the rainy season, at one time made many parts of the Deccan proverbial for beauty and productiveness. Unfortunately, in too many districts of the country, and more especially in those where native misrule still continues, many of these tanks are in ruins, and sterility has returned.

Geology.

The geology of India has not been fully investigated, but what is known seems to show that its leading features are less complicated than those of most other countries. All the great mountain ranges are composed of the rocks usually classified as granitic. In the stupendous heights of the Himalaya gneiss is particularly predominant, and is associated with mica-schist, hornblende-schist, chloride-slate, and primitive limestone. In the chains of the peninsula the same rocks prevail—granite in the south-west and south, and sienite in the south-east, covering a considerable portion of the surface, and composing some of the highest peaks. One great exception to this predominance of granite and its accompanying schists is in the southern portion of the Western Ghauts, where these rocks disappear beneath the surface, and are overlaid by a peculiar species of iron clay, which, from its being so soft where it lies as to be easily cut by the spade, and hardening on exposure to the air so as to be fit for building, has received the name of laterite or brick-stone. This mineral, instead of being a mere local deposit, almost assumes the dignity of a distinct formation, continuing with little interruption to the extremity of the continent, and even re-appearing beyond it in the Island of Ceylon.

Another great exception to the predominance of granitic rocks is in the

upper part of the Western Ghats, and the adjoining ramifications of the Vindhya range. Here basaltic trap, in its various forms of prismatic, columnar, globular, tabular, porphyritic, and amygdaloid, spreads out as an overlying rock, to an extent unequalled, it is believed, in any other part of the world. A very large portion of the table-land of the Deccan is entirely covered by it. Not unfrequently both the trap and the granite pierce the surface abruptly, and rise in precipitous isolated masses of considerable height. Many of these standing out prominently from the surrounding plains and crowned with hill forts, form the most remarkable features in the landscape

Basaltic
trap

The more regular strata of the secondary and tertiary periods are largely developed on the lower sides of the Himalaya, and occupy considerable tracts in various other localities. Many of the sandstones and shales of the former period belong to the coal measures; and coal has not only been found at several places, but is actually worked, particularly in the valley of the Damooda in the district of Burdwan, where a coal field with a main seam 9 feet in thickness has been carefully explored, and found to extend over a large area. The proximity of this field to the capital, from which it is about 150 miles north-west, and the facility of carriage by water, and now also by rail, have brought it early into notice; but there cannot be a doubt that there are many other fields equally promising, and, at all events, productive enough to supply the demand about to be created by the establishment of an extensive system of railways. The tertiary formation appears to obtain its greatest breadth in the north-west, towards Scinde and the Punjab, from which, and the mountains of adjacent districts, fossil remains of singular forms and gigantic dimensions have recently been brought to enrich our museums.

Secondary
and tertiary
strata.

It must be admitted that, as a mineral country, India has not yet proved its title to a prominent place. Though in ancient times gold was so abundant, that the Indian was the only one of the Persian satrapies which paid its tribute in that precious metal, it has now only a few washings, which are by no means productive. Its diamond mines also, once so famous, have long been exhausted. Besides the coal already mentioned, the only mineral products of much economical value are copper, of which several mines are worked; iron, from which steel of the finest quality is manufactured; nitre, so abundant as to form an important article of export; and salt, said to exist in beds which are inexhaustible.

Minerals

Of the 28° of north latitude over which India extends, 15½° are within the tropical, and 12½° within the temperate zone. Taking this fact only into view, it might be easy to give the theory of its climate; but it would merely be to show how widely in this case, as in many others, theory differs from reality. The position of a country relatively to the equator, simply shows how long and how intensely the sun during its annual revolution will shine upon it, but gives no information as to the modifying causes by which, often far more than by degrees of latitude, its climate is determined. In regard to India

Climate

Modifying
causes.

these causes are so numerous, and operate so differently in different localities, that it may be truly said to have not one, but many climates. Northwards a few degrees from the tropic, it has a region in which snow and ice are never wanting; westwards, it has a desert with the parched plains and scorching heats of the African Sahara; eastwards, it has a deep alluvial basin overcharged with moisture; and southwards, while the isothermal line, indicating the greatest quantity of mean annual heat on the surface of the globe, crosses it obliquely from the Coromandel to the Malabar coast, the Neilgherry Hills, situated nearly in the same latitude, enjoy the climate of the finest part of the temperate zone. Where so many anomalies exist, it would obviously be impossible to give an adequate description, without entering into numerous complicated details; and therefore the utmost which can here be done is to point out a few features which, though much diversified by circumstances, may be considered characteristic of the climate of India.

Heat.

The most prominent of these features are heat and humidity—heat produced chiefly by the direct action of the sun's rays, but intensified in many districts by a low level, a naturally arid soil, and sultry winds from other countries; and

Humidity.

humidity, not derived, as in Europe, from moderate showers occurring more or less at all seasons, but the result of rains which occur regularly at stated periods, and are so copious and incessant as often to pour down more water in a month than falls in any part of England in a year. In London, the mean annual temperature is 49.35° ; in Calcutta it is 79.37° ; in Bombay, 81.9° ; in Madras, 84.4° . In order to perceive the full effect of these differences, it is necessary to attend to the annual range of temperature, or the number of degrees between the greatest mean heat and the greatest mean cold. In London, this range amounts to no less than 40.3° , whereas in the above three cities it amounts respectively to no more than to 11.9° , 10° , and 7.2° . In other words, heat is far more equally diffused in India than in our own island; and the complete cessation of vegetation which takes place in the latter during the rigour of winter, is totally unknown in the former. An equally striking contrast appears in the degrees of humidity. The average annual fall of rain in England is 32 inches. In Bombay, as large a quantity has been known to fall in twelve days, while the average of the year is about 85 inches. On the Malabar coast and many parts of the Western Ghats, even this quantity is largely exceeded, and the average has been estimated at 136 inches. This, however, is only a local extreme. In Calcutta, the range of the fall is from 50 to 85 inches; and on the Coromandel coast, in the neighbourhood of Madras, the annual average of England is supposed not to be exceeded.

Monsoons.

The great agents in regulating the climate of India and fixing its character, are the periodical winds known by the name of *monsoons*. With the interval of about a month, they divide the year between them—the one blowing regularly from the north-east from October to March, and the other from the south-west from April to September. The north-east monsoon is, strictly speaking, identical

with the north-east trade-wind, and would accordingly blow without interruption throughout the year, were it not brought under the influence of a great counteracting cause. This is found on the central plains of Asia, which, becoming immoderately heated while the sun is north of the equator, rarify the surrounding air, and thereby disturb the atmospherical equilibrium. To restore it, a current of colder air begins to rush in from the Indian Ocean. A kind of struggle takes place—the north-east monsoon endeavouring to maintain its direction, while the new current endeavours to establish its ascendancy. In the struggle, the north-east monsoon is placed at great disadvantage, for at the very time when it is engaged with its opponent, part of its own forces are diverted, and drawn off to the regions where the equilibrium has been disturbed. After a month of warfare, in which all the elements seem to mingle, and thunderstorms and hurricanes rage with the greatest fury, the new current prevails, and becomes established as the south-west monsoon. After blowing for nearly half a year, a new state of the atmosphere is superinduced. The overheated Asiatic plains are cooled down by the sun's departure for the south, the aerial struggle, with its accompanying thunder and hurricanes, is renewed, and in about a month the north-east monsoon, recovering its superiority, begins again to blow.¹

The monsoons.

Their causes.

The effects of the monsoons in determining the climate of India are very remarkable. The south-west monsoon, in blowing over the Indian Ocean, becomes surcharged with vapour, which, being suddenly condensed on the heights of the Western Ghauts, is discharged in torrents. Thus deprived of its contents as fast as it arrives on the Malabar coast, it blows across the country, and arrives at the Coromandel coast as a dry wind. This coast, accordingly, and the eastern part of the Deccan, generally at this time receive no direct supplies of rain, and become in consequence so parched, that the culture of the ground would become impossible, were it not that most of the rivers, having their sources in the Western Ghauts, become filled to overflowing, and thus furnish the means of carrying on an extensive system of irrigation. Beyond the limits of the Western Ghauts, the low plains near the mouths of the Indus, and the sandy desert to the east and north, are unable to attract any moisture from the monsoon, which now arrives well charged with water on the heights of the Himalaya. Being here deflected, it descends into the basin of the Ganges, and floods the lower plains of Bengal. The south-west monsoon having run its course, the north-east monsoon repeats the process, though on a somewhat minor scale, because the Bay of Bengal, from which the moisture is derived, is of less extent, and therefore unable to supply it so copiously.

Their influence.

The course of the seasons in India will now be easily understood. In the British Islands, and in the temperate zone generally, winter, spring, summer, and autumn succeed each other, and the year performs its round of grateful vicissitudes. In India an entirely different arrangement takes place; and the

Seasons.

Seasons.

only seasons which can be properly recognized are the *rainy*, the *cool*, and the *hot*. The boundaries between them are not very exactly defined, because the rains, which may be considered as the commencement of the year, do not begin, even on the same side of the continent, at the same period. On the Malabar coast, for instance, they are retarded in proceeding northwards, and have copiously flooded some districts at least a month before they begin to fall in others. As India lies wholly on the north side of the equator, the cool and the hot seasons should correspond nearly with our own winter and summer; but without entering too much into detail, and specifying the peculiarities of different districts, it is almost impossible to make any statement, in general terms, which would not mislead. The best mode of illustrating the seasons will therefore be to select a particular locality, and give a short description of its year. Calcutta being adopted for this purpose, the cycle will be as follows. After nearly a month of storms, connected with the setting in of the monsoon, the rains commence about the beginning of June, and continue, with occasional short intervals, till the middle of October. A brief stormy period ensues, and then, in November, the air having previously cleared up, the cool season begins. At first the weather is fair and pleasant, and the sky, generally free from clouds, is of a deep blue. In December, fogs become frequent towards evening, and continue unbroken till the morning sun disperses them. Both in this month and in January, the thermometer ranges from 47° to 78° , but the air feels colder than the lower of these numbers might be expected to indicate. Cold but bracing winds from the north and west doubtless contribute to this result. In February, the thermometer begins to rise, and generally before it closes the hot season has commenced. During the three following months the heat continues to increase, but is greatly relieved by winds and storms till May, when an oppressive stillness prevails, at once unnerving the body and depressing the mind. With this disagreeable month the season closes, and the annual cycle again begins.

Vegetable products.

In heat and humidity, India possesses the two main agents of luxuriant vegetation. On its lower plains the most valuable plants of the tropics are indigenous or acclimatized, and on its loftier heights forests of the noblest trees, several of them of a peculiar type, furnish inexhaustible supplies of the finest timber, including the teak, which covers the rugged terraces of the Western Ghauts. Equally deserving of notice are the magnificent woody amphitheatres which rise successively on the Himalaya, till the limits of the vegetable kingdom are approached. Among the plants which belong exclusively to India, or, while possessed in common with other countries, are so widely diffused over it as to form a leading feature in its botany, are the bamboo, which, though truly a grass, shoots up in one season to the height of 60 feet, and in another becomes so consolidated in its texture as to supply most of the ordinary, and some of the ornamental purposes to which timber is applied; palms in almost endless variety, including the cocoa-nut palm—the most useful of its class—the sago,

the areca, and the great fan palm—a majestic tree, with a leaf of such extraordinary dimensions that a dozen men could take shelter under it; the babal tree, one of the most beautiful and useful of acacias; the sandal-wood tree, valued in the East for the perfume, and in Europe for the dye which it yields; spice-bearing plants and trees, including among others the pepper-vine, which entwines among the cocoas and other palms of the Malabar coast, and forms a considerable article of export; the bread-fruit tree, the banana, and above all the mango, at once the finest and the most widely diffused of all the fruit-trees of which India can boast. Among the cultivated plants which are important as staple articles of food, are rice, maize, wheat, millet, barley, varieties of pulse, yams, sweet potatoes, &c. Among those most deserving of notice, from furnishing the raw materials of manufacture and export, are cotton, flax, hemp, indigo, and various dyes; cardamoms and other spices, sugar-cane, tobacco, and opium.

The zoology of India is no less rich and varied than its botany. Among quadrupeds the first place is unquestionably due to the elephant, which, besides living wild in herds, has from time immemorial been domesticated, and is usually employed in all labours in which strength and singular sagacity are required. The buffalo and yak have also been domesticated; and the camel is reared in considerable numbers in the west, particularly on the borders of the desert, which it is employed to traverse. Among the animals which have not been subjected to the dominion of man, the most remarkable for size and strength is the one-horned rhinoceros; for ferocity, the tiger, lion, leopard, panther, hyena, and jackal; for forms often humbling to human pride, numerous species of monkeys; and for swiftness, or some other property which singles them out for the chase, the argali, or wild sheep, the wild goat, the wild ass, the bear, the wild boar and wild hog, the chickara, or four-horned antelope, the great rusa stag, nearly as large as a horse, the saumer, or black rusa of Bengal, the hog-deer, the Nepal stag, and many other varieties of the cervine tribe. The birds include several species of the vulture and eagle, wild peacocks, pheasants, and in great profusion cockatoos, parrots, and paroquets, of gorgeous plumage or singular articulating powers. Though not a permanent resident anywhere, the gigantic stork makes its appearance in large flocks during the rains, and renders essential service by destroying snakes and other noxious reptiles, and by plying the trade of scavenger, for which nature evidently intended it. On passing to the lower orders of the animal kingdom, the transition is disagreeable, for it brings us to the hideous alligators, abundant in most streams, and more especially in those of the Indus and Ganges, and to large and venomous snakes which infest both the land and the water, and are so numerous that forty-three varieties, including the deadly *cobra de capello*, have been described as of common occurrence. Hastening from these to the fishes, both the coasts and the rivers present us with numerous varieties, often in unlimited abundance and excellent for food. As particularly distinguished in the latter respect, it may suffice to notice the leopard-

mackerel and the mango fish, the one measuring 3 feet, and the other occasionally 4 feet in length. Both frequently find a place on the tables of European residents.

Inhabitants

The inhabitants of India would next claim attention; but as a full account of them will necessarily be interwoven in the course of the work, it may here suffice to mention that they consist mainly of two great classes—Mahometans and Hindoos. The former, amounting only to about a tenth of the whole population, are far more influential than their numbers imply, because, having been the dominant race before European ascendancy was established, they have never entirely lost the wealth and power which this position gave them, and in most native states are under the government of princes of their own faith. The Hindoos, though classed under a common name, by no means represent a single race, but exhibit numerous varieties, even in physical form; and, instead of all speaking the same language, have dialects, founded indeed, for the most part, on the Sanscrit, which is no longer spoken, but differing as much from each other as those languages of Europe which have the Latin for their common basis.

Political
geography.

In the preceding sketch, attention has been drawn only to the physical geography of India, or to the features which nature herself has indelibly impressed upon it, and the most remarkable objects presented by its mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. As yet nothing has been said of another department of geography—that which treats of the artificial divisions introduced for administrative purposes, or in consequence of political changes. These, though they necessarily partake of the instability which attaches to all human arrangements, serve many important purposes, and, in fact, furnish the vocabulary which must be used when particular localities are referred to, or the events of which they have been the theatre are described. A thorough knowledge of this vocabulary is only to be obtained by a diligent study of the map; but for ordinary purposes a more cursory knowledge may suffice, at least so far as to prevent the perplexity which might be caused by the frequent use of names of which no previous information had been given. With the view of furnishing such a knowledge, and guarding against this perplexity, a summary of the political geography of India, in accordance with actually subsisting arrangements, and compressed within the narrowest possible compass, is here subjoined.

European
rulers in
India.

At present, not much more than the half of India is in the undivided possession of Great Britain. Two European nations still linger at a few insignificant spots—the Portuguese at Goa on the west coast, and at Diu on the north-west, between the Gulfs of Cutch and Cambay; and the French at Pondicherry and Carricall, on the east coast, at Mahé, on the south-west coast, and at Chandernagore on the Hooghly, above Calcutta. Two native states—Bhotan and Nepal, situated on the southern slopes of the Himalaya—are nominally independent. All the other native states are under a British protectorate of greater or less stringency. Of these states in the upper and inland portion of India, the most extensive are Scindia's dominions, capital Gwalior, stretching from the

Taptee north to the banks of the Chumbul; Holkar's dominions, capital Indore, much intersected by those of Scindia, which bound them on the north; and Rajpootana, consisting of a great number of states, which, though individually small, have a large aggregate area, and reach from Scindia's dominions west to the frontiers of Scinde. In the south-west of the same portion of the country, are the Guicowar's territories, capital Baroda, and the rajahship of Cutch, capital Bhooj. In the Deccan, or southern and maritime portion of India, the most extensive native states are—the Nizam's dominions, capital Hyderabad, area 95,337 square miles, by far the largest territory under any single native chief, consisting of a compact and central portion of the peninsular plateau, bounded north by the Vindhya range, south by the Krishna, east and north-east by the Godavery, and west by an indefinite line near the last slopes of the Western Ghauts; Mysore, the country of the famous Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib, capital Seringapatam, area 30,886 square miles, consisting of a lofty table-land within the angle which is formed by the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghauts; and Travancore, capital Trivandrum, area 4722 square miles, forming the south-west portion of the extremity of the peninsula.

Native states.

The whole of the native states and the Portuguese and French possessions have an area of 631,470 square miles, and a population of 49,074,527. The whole of the remainder—area 824,232 square miles, population 130,897,195—is British territory, which has the seat of its government at Calcutta, the capital of all India, and is comprehended in the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

The three presidencies.

The presidency of Bengal—area 517,839 miles, population 38,883,337—includes all the British territories within the basins of the Indus and Ganges, with exception of Scinde. It also includes Assam and the annexed territories of the Burmese, and the province of Cuttack, extending south to Ganjam, on the east coast of the Deccan, where it bounds with what are called the Northern Circars, belonging to Madras. Being by far the largest and most populous of the three, the presidency of Bengal is subdivided into Bengal proper and the North-western Provinces, each having its own lieutenant-governor. The line of demarcation between them is nearly in the direction of the meridian of 84°, the whole of the presidency east of that line belonging to the one, and all west of it to the other. Strictly speaking, the North-western Provinces include only the six great divisions of Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Rohilcund, Meerut, and Delhi. The Punjab and Oude are thus left out, because, though they are doubtless destined to be formally incorporated with this subdivision, they are still, in consequence of their recent acquisition, under a separate administration.

Bengal presidency.

The presidency of Madras—area 132,090 square miles, population 22,437,297—bounds with that of Bengal, near lat. 18°, and continues south, along the east and south-east coast of the peninsula to Cape Comorin, with no interruption, except from the interposed French districts of Pondicherry and Carricall. At Cape Comorin, it is cut off from the sea by the interjected native states of

Madras presidency.

Madras
presidency.

Travancore and Cochin; but beyond them it again becomes maritime, and continues north along the coast of Malabar, till it meets the presidency of Bombay, near the district of Goa. It has a very irregular shape. At first, when it commences with the Northern Circars, it is so hemmed in between the Bay of Bengal and the east frontiers of the Nizam's dominions, that it consists only of a comparatively narrow belt. The same thing happens in the west, where it is similarly hemmed in between the Arabian Gulf and the west frontiers of Mysore. Near the middle, between the mouths of the Krishna and the Pennar, it widens out and stretches so far west between these two native states as to approach the Western Ghats. Further south, between the city of Madras and Palk's Strait, it extends across the whole peninsula, from sea to sea.

Bombay
presidency.

The presidency of Bombay—area 120,065 square miles, population 14,109,067—is, from similar causes, as irregular in shape as the presidency of Madras. Beginning near Goa, it continues northwards in a long and narrow strip, and then widening out, becomes so intermingled with the native states as to make it almost impossible to define its boundaries. Scinde, which has recently been added to it, and forms the three collectorates of Shikarpoor, Hyderabad, and Kurrachee, is by far its most compact province.

The above sketch of the physical and political geography of India seemed necessary in order to furnish information which some might not possess, and remove the indistinct, if not erroneous impressions which it is difficult to avoid, in endeavouring to form an acquaintance with a country so remote, so vast, and so extraordinary. By exhibiting it on a scale so reduced that the mind is neither overpowered by the magnitude, nor perplexed by the variety and singularity of its features, a kind of unity is given to it, and it assumes the appearance of a stage on which great actors are to appear, and wonderful achievements are to be performed. In this way, the history acquires a simplicity which it might not otherwise possess, a deeper interest is felt in the narrative, and the important lessons drawn from it become at once more obvious, intelligible, and impressive.

Distinct
periods of
Indian his-
tory.

The *History of India* embraces three distinct periods—an *ancient*, a *medieval*, and a *modern*. The ancient period, beginning with the earliest authentic accounts, extends to the establishment of a Mahometan dynasty. The medieval period terminates with the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, and the consequent discovery of a continuous oceanic route to the East. The modern period, commencing with the great changes introduced by this discovery, is continued down to the present time. The last of these periods, forming the proper subject of the present history, will be treated with a fullness proportioned to its intrinsic importance, and the interest it derives from its intimate connection with British history. The other two could not be omitted without leaving the work incomplete, but being only subordinate, will not occupy more than a few preliminary chapters.

BOOK I.


FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 1600,

WHEN THE FIRST CROWN CHARTER INCORPORATING

AN EAST INDIA COMPANY WAS GRANTED.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient India—The pre-historic period—Native sources of information—Other accounts—
Invasion of India by Sesostris, Semiramis, Darius Hystaspes, Alexander the Great—
Subsequent state of India.

N tracing the early history of a country, the natural course is to apply to the sources of information which the country itself may be able to furnish. In this respect India might be presumed to be rich. Long before the nations of Western Europe had begun to emerge from barbarism, it was in possession of a language remarkable for the completeness of its grammatical forms, for copiousness, and for the number and variety of the works which had been written in it. Several of these works were of a scientific and metaphysical character, requiring talent of a higher order than would have been necessary for historical compilation; and yet, strange to say, while the more difficult intellectual effort was successfully made, the less difficult, the more useful, and, as one would have imagined, the more attractive, was so entirely neglected, that with the exception of a work on Cashmere of no very ancient date, the literature of India has failed to furnish a single production to which the name of history can in any proper sense of the term be applied. In dealing with the past, ages are heaped upon ages till the years amount to millions; and endless details are given of gods and demigods, children of the sun and moon, and creatures still more monstrous, combining divine, human, and bestial forms—but men as they really lived; and the events produced by their agency are entirely overlooked, or treated as if they were unfit to be recorded until they had been moulded into some fantastic shape. In short, the Brahmins, the only depositories of learning, abusing their trust, have made everything subservient to an extravagant mythology, obviously designed, and in many respects skilfully framed, to secure their own aggrandizement.

No proper
native his-
tory of In-
dia.

It is
Sources of
informa-
tion.

In the absence of direct information from historical records in India, it is proper before abandoning the search there as hopeless, to inquire whether it may not be possible to discover other native sources from which some amount of

B.C. — authentic information may be obtained indirectly by means of cautious and legitimate deduction. In ancient works, not properly historical, the state of society, and consequent degree of civilization at the period when they were written, are often exhibited, not less accurately, and perhaps far more vividly, than if they had been composed for that special purpose; and hence, provided their date can be fixed with any degree of certainty, much information of an historical nature may be easily and safely extracted from them. Of the writings which thus tend to elucidate the primitive history of India, the most valuable are the collections

The Vedas.

of ancient hymns and prayers, known by the name of *Vedas*, and the kind of commentary upon them contained in a compilation, which the translation of Sir William Jones has made familiar to English readers under the title of the *Institutes of Menu*. The *Vedas*, four in number, prove by diversities both of style and contents, that they are the productions of different periods, between which a considerable interval must have elapsed. According to the Hindoos, they are a little more than 3000 years older than our era, but though this age is short compared with that which figures generally in their chronology, it is doubtless an exaggeration. Mr. Colebrooke, by a very ingenious and convincing process,¹ has cut off sixteen centuries from the Hindoo date. Founding on a calendar of antique form by which the *Vedas* regulate the times of devotional service, he was able to ascertain the exact position of the solstitial points in accordance with which the calendar was regulated; and assuming, as he well might, that the position was not hypothetical, he had only to compare it with the position at present, and calculate how many years must have elapsed in order to produce the difference. The annual precession of the equinoxes is an invariable quantity; and by counting backwards and deducting this quantity successively till the whole amount of difference is exhausted, the true date appears. In this way the completion of the *Vedas* has been fixed in the fifteenth century before the Christian era. The *Institutes of Menu*, referring to the *Vedas* as productions venerable even then for antiquity, must be much more recent. How much, is the important question; and unfortunately a question which does not admit of a very definite answer. The *Institutes* themselves give no dates, and any conclusion which can be founded on internal evidence is little better than conjecture. Still, however, though a large margin must be allowed as a kind of debatable ground on which the sticklers for an earlier and a later period may carry on their wordy warfare, there is enough, both in the comparatively pure and primitive form of the religion inculcated, in the sanction of usages which are known to have become obsolete some centuries before the Christian era, and in the omission of religious sects and controversies which would certainly have been mentioned if they had then been in existence, to support the conclusion that the *Institutes of Menu* must have appeared not later than the fifth, and probably as early as the ninth century B.C. Either period would carry us back to a remote antiquity;

Institutes
of Menu.

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii.

for it is always to be remembered, that the laws and manners which the work details, and the corresponding state of society which it implies, did not begin to exist at the time when it was written, but must have preceded it by several ages. Every page of the *Institutes*, therefore, must be held to furnish indubitable evidence that about 3000 years ago India was nearly as far advanced in civilization as in the present day, containing a dense population, not merely scattered over the country in rural villages, but collected into large towns and cities, extensively engaged in manufactures and trade, and forming a number of independent states. These, under the government of rulers whose despotism was greatly modified by customs and laws, raised large revenues by a complicated system of taxation, brought into the field powerful armies, and executed many stupendous and magnificent works. Among these works are the temples of Elephanta, Salsette, Adjunta, and Ellora, whose testimony, as imperishable as the rocks out of which they have been hewn,' tells of an age, which, though far short of that which was at one time extravagantly assigned, must still in the most ancient be not less than 2000 years.

B.C. —

Rock
temples

Another testimony to the antiquity of Indian civilization has been found in its astronomy. This testimony, in consequence of the perverse attempts of some philosophers of the French revolutionary school to confront it with the Sacred

Hindu
astronomy

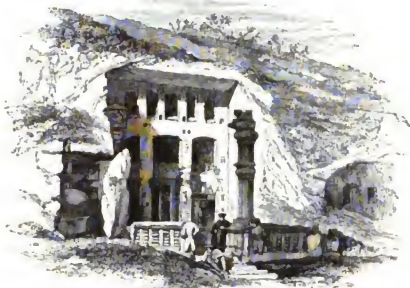
INTERIOR OF THE CAVE OF ELEPHANTA.—From Grindlay's Scenery of India.

Records, for the purpose of bringing them into discredit, was justly subjected to a very rigorous examination, and did not come out of it unscathed. The astro-

¹ As the celebrated works mentioned in the text as a collateral evidence of ancient civilization, will afterwards be referred to, along with other works of a similar nature, under the head of Indian architecture, it is sufficient to observe here that they belong to two distinct classes, both hewn out of the solid rock, but differing essentially in this respect—that the one class consists of pillared and sculptured caverns, of which only the entrance is visible externally; while

the other consists of rock temples, properly so called, because standing visible in the open air, and composed of masses of solid rock, which, fixed immovably in their original site, have been hewn down into the form of temples (see view of the Kylas Temple at Ellora, on engraved title of vol. i.), covered over with sculptures and inscriptions, and accompanied with numerous statues, often of fantastic shapes and colossal dimensions.

B.C. — nomical tables, because founded on calculations which had been carried backward to a very remote period, were erroneously assumed to exhibit the result



EXTERIOR OF GREAT CHAITYA CAVE, SAIRETTE.—FROM FERGUSON'S *Rock-cut Temples of India*.

Hindoo
astronomy :

of actual observations, and it was gravely maintained that the Hindoo astronomer must have been sitting in his observatory, surrounded by his instruments and patiently committing the results of his observations to writing, nearly 1000

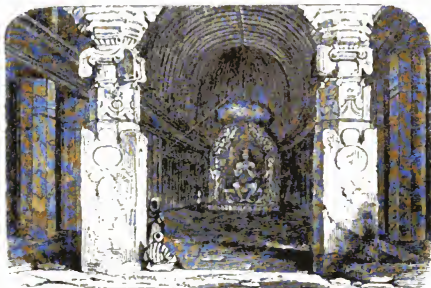


EXTERIOR OF THE CHAITYA CAVE, AJUNTA.—FROM FERGUSON'S *Rock-cut Temples of India*.

Said to be
borrowed.

years before Noah entered the ark. As usual in cases of similar extravagance, a reactionary feeling was produced, and many, running to the opposite extreme, insisted that Indian astronomy had no independent existence, and was at best a rude plagiarism from the Chaldeans and the Greeks. More moderate views are now entertained on both sides and those best qualified to judge, agree in holding

that, while recorded actual observations by the astronomers of India cannot be carried farther back than the sixth century A.D., their science had probably made some progress 200 years before there was any mention of astronomy in Greece. B.C. —



INTERIOR OF THE BISMA KURN, ELLORA.—FROM ELLIOTT'S VIEWS IN INDIA.

One of the most pregnant facts on which this conclusion is founded, is the remarkable coincidence between the signs of the zodiac in the Indian and Arab systems—a coincidence which, while it proves that they must have had a common origin, cannot be explained without admitting that the Indian system has the better title to be regarded as the original. Indian zodiac.

While there is thus abundant evidence to show that India must have received its first inhabitants at no distant period after the dispersion of the human race, and become one of the first cradles of civilization, no distinct dates are obtained; and consequently the history of the country cannot be said to begin till we quit its own soil, and apply for information to the writers of the West, who for the most part follow some sort of chronological order, and even when they indulge in fable, have generally some foundation in fact. The Foreign sources of information.



ORIENTAL ZODIAC.—Maurice's History of Hindostan.¹

¹ Figs. 1-12 are the signs of the Zodiac. *a*, The Sun. *b*, The Moon. *c*, Mars. *d*, Mercury. *e*, Jupiter. *f*, Venus. *g*, Saturn. *h*, Dragon's Head, or ascending

node. *i*, Dragon's Tail, or descending node. The centre is the earth, surrounded by the sea, marked with the four cardinal points, E. (w), W. (x), N. (y), S. (z).

B.C. 1500? first Greek writers who throw any light on the history of India are Herodotus, the father of history, whose immortal work, written in the fifth century B.C., still exists; and Ctesias, who, though he may have been for a short time contemporary with Herodotus, properly belongs to the immediately succeeding century. Among other historical works, he wrote one expressly on India. His opportunities for obtaining materials were considerable. Having been taken prisoner, or been in some other way carried to the Persian capital, he gained the favour of Artaxerxes by his skill as a physician, and lived at his court during the seventeen years preceding B.C. 398. Unfortunately, his work as a whole has perished, but many fragments of it have been preserved, particularly by Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca*, which was written in the first years of the Christian era, but possesses far more value as an authority than its date might seem to give it, because it is a compilation, and in many cases apparently an exact transcript, of more ancient writers, whose works are lost. The earliest accounts of India, drawn from the materials furnished by these writers, and especially by the last, are presented with all the gravity of history—a gravity, however, which, when the nature of the details is considered, occasionally becomes ludicrous.

Expedition
of Sesostris.

An Egyptian king, whom Diodorus calls Sesoosis and most other writers Sesostris, and who is now generally believed to be identical with Rameses, who belonged to the nineteenth dynasty, came into the world about 1500 B.C., after happy omens which foretold his future greatness. To prepare him for it, his father caused all the male children born in Egypt on the same day to be brought to court and educated along with him. As they grew up they were trained in all manly exercises, and formed a chosen band, bound to their young prince by the strongest ties of affection, and prepared to follow with unflinching courage and fidelity wherever he might lead. During his father's lifetime he began his military campaigns, and proceeding first into Arabia and then westward into Libya, subdued both. His ambition having been thus inflamed, he had no sooner succeeded to the throne than he resolved on the subjugation of the world. His first step was to conciliate the affections of his subjects—his next to collect an army adequate to the contemplated enterprise. It consisted of 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and 27,000 war-chariots. The chief commands were given to the youths who had been brought up with him. The Ethiopians were the first who were made to feel his power. Their country was adjacent to Egypt, and could be reached by a land force, but on turning to the east the necessity of a fleet became apparent. Hitherto the Egyptians had been averse to maritime enterprise, but everything yielded to the energy of Sesostris, who built the first ships of war which Egypt possessed, and ere long had a fleet of 400 sail. He did not allow it to remain idle; but setting out, proceeded down the Arabian Gulf into the main ocean, which then bore the name of the Erythraean Sea, and then coasting along the shores continued his voyage as far as

B.C. 1500?

India. He returned, but it was only to recommence his victorious career, and lead a mighty army eastward, not only to the frontiers of India, but beyond the Ganges, and still on till he traversed the whole country and reached a new ocean. On his return, he caused pillars to be erected in various places, with inscriptions attesting his victories, and at the same time lauding the courage or stigmatizing the cowardice of those who had encountered him.

The above narrative, which Diodorus admits to be only the most probable of several contradictory accounts circulated in Egypt, carries some extravagances on the face of it. One of the most palpable of these is the number of the youths who are said to have been born on the same day with Sesostris. When that monarch set out on his Eastern expedition, he must have been on the borders of forty, and yet even then more than 1700 persons born on the same day were still surviving. Assuming that they were subject to the ordinary law of mortality, their number at forty years of age could not be more than a third of what it was at first. In other words, the number of male children born in Egypt on the same day with Sesostris must have been 5000, and, consequently, adding female children, the whole number of births must have been 10,000. At the usual rate of increase, this would give Egypt a population bordering upon 40,000,000—a population so enormous as to be utterly incredible. Founding on this discrepancy, and some other objections, which, besides being somewhat hypercritical, are stated more strongly than facts seem to justify, Dr. Robertson, in the first note to his *Historical Disquisition concerning Ancient India*, labours to prove that the whole account of the expedition of Sesostris to India is fabulous. It ought to be observed, however, that, in this instance, Diodorus does not stand alone. Herodotus, whom Dr. Robertson not very fairly quotes against him, bears strong testimony in his favour, and in fact confirms his statement in all that is essential to it. He distinctly refers both to the maritime and the land expeditions of Sesostris, and though he does not expressly use the word India, he says that in the one Sesostris continued sailing eastward till he came to a sea so shallow as to be no longer navigable, and that in the other he subdued every nation that came in his way, and built pillars of the very kind and for the very purpose mentioned by Diodorus. To reject a statement thus supported, because some flaws may be picked in particular parts of it, is to strike at the foundation of human testimony, and countenance the captious quibbling process under which all ancient history, sacred as well as profane, runs some risk of being converted into a myth. The fair conclusion concerning the Indian expeditions of Sesostris seems to be that they really took place, but that in the accounts given of them, both the means which he employed and the extent of country which he subdued or traversed are exaggerated.

Of another Indian expedition, also mentioned by Diodorus Siculus on the authority of Ctesias, greater doubt may reasonably be entertained, notwith-

Narrative
it fabulous?Testimony of
HerodotusExpedition
of Semir-
amis

B.C. 1300? standing the minuteness with which the details are given. The leader of this expedition was the famous Assyrian queen Semiramis. Having learned that India was the greatest and richest country in the world, and was ruled by a powerful monarch called Staurobates, who had innumerable hosts of soldiers, and a great number of elephants trained to war, and so equipped as to inspire terror, she determined to give herself no rest till she had made proof of her prowess against him. She accordingly commenced preparations, and carried them on upon so immense a scale, that though myriads of artificers were employed, three years were spent in completing them. All the country west of the Indus was already subject to her power, but in order to cross that mighty river, an immense number of ships was necessary. In order to provide them, she brought ship-builders from Phœnicia, Syria, and Cyprus. As the banks of the Indus furnished no timber, she was obliged to procure it in the adjacent territory of Bactria, the modern Bokhara. Here she established her building yards, and fitted out her ships in such a manner that she could afterwards transport them piece-meal on the backs of camels, and launch them when they were required. In the number of her troops, which Diodorus, quoting Ctesias as his authority, states at the fabulous number of 3,000,000 infantry, 500,000 cavalry, and 100,000 war-chariots, each provided with a charioteer and carrying a soldier armed with a sword 6 feet long, she considered herself more than a match for Staurobates; but she feared his elephants, and as this was a kind of force in which she had no means of coping with him, she had recourse to a singular stratagem. Having collected 300,000 black cattle, and slaughtered them to feed the countless workmen employed in her vast arsenal in Bactria, she caused skins to be sewed together in such a manner that each, when a camel was placed inside with a man to guide it, bore such a resemblance to an elephant as to be readily mistaken for it. By this device she hoped that the Indians would be terror-struck on seeing themselves opposed to a species of force which they had imagined to be exclusively their own. Meanwhile Staurobates, on his part, had not been idle. Besides a land force scarcely less numerous than that of Semiramis, and headed by a formidable array of elephants, his fleet, composed of 4000 vessels constructed out of reeds or bamboos, covered the river. Here the first encounter took place, and a great naval battle was fought. Victory was long undecided, but at length, owing mainly to the superior naval skill of the Phœnician and Cypriot sailors, declared in favour of the warlike queen. Staurobates, with the loss of a large portion of his fleet, and an immense carnage of his soldiers, was obliged to withdraw and leave the passage of the river free. The queen immediately caused a bridge of boats to be constructed, and crossing with her whole army, hastened forward, with the hope of soon completing the conquest which she had so successfully begun. Staurobates, however, had no idea of submission, and stood prepared for her approach. At first, in the general engagement which ensued, the Indians

Expedition
of Semir-
amis.

Great pre-
parations

Encounter
with Stau-
robates.

were greatly disconcerted at the appearance of the fictitious elephants, and a kind of panic took place; but the trick which had imposed upon them was soon discovered, and the real elephants advancing to the charge, carried everything before them. It was now the turn of Semiramis to flee. Most of her army perished in the field, or in attempting to regain the right bank of the river. She herself, severely wounded during a personal encounter with Staurobates, made her escape with difficulty with a mere handful of troops, and retiring into the interior with humbled pride, dreamed no more of crowning her fame by the conquest of India.

B.C. 590?

Semiramis
wounded

Notwithstanding the circumstantiality with which the Indian expedition of Semiramis is detailed, it is impossible to doubt that the whole account is highly coloured, and in many parts not less fictitious than her elephants. Of the enormous army which she is said to have collected, Sir Walter Raleigh quaintly and shrewdly observes, that no one place on the earth could have nourished so vast a concourse of living creatures, "had every man and beast but fed on grass."¹ Similar exaggeration is apparent in other parts of the narrative; and grave doubts have even been raised as to the individual existence of Semiramis, whom some maintain to have been a creation of Assyrian mythology, and others to have been the common name of an Assyrian dynasty. As Ctesias, from whom Diodorus borrowed the account, is said to have extracted it from Persian records, it is not improbable that its basis of fact has been overlaid with the embellishments which usually adorn a Persian tale.

Number of
her army
fabulous

When India is next brought under notice, the portion of it lying along the right or west bank of the Indus figures as a satrapy or province of the Persian empire. This position it naturally assumed when the Assyrian empire was overthrown by Cyrus the Great. Thus incorporated, it paid nearly a third of the whole tribute which Darius levied from his twenty satrapies, and must, therefore, be presumed to have been the wealthiest and most populous, if not the most extensive of them all. In this fact it is easy to find a more rational account of the curiosity which Darius Hystaspes felt in regard to the Indus, than that which is assigned by Herodotus.² According to him, the Persian monarch was merely desirous to know where the river had its mouth, and with this view caused some ships to be fitted out, and gave the command of them to Scylax, a Greek of Caryanda, who, after sailing down the stream to the ocean, turned west, and spent two years and a half in a tedious voyage along the coast. That Darius, when he fitted out the expedition, entertained the thought of enlarging his dominions by new conquests, is confirmed by the statement which Herodotus adds, that immediately after the voyage was completed, he made himself master of the sea and subdued the Indians. These terms, however, are so general, that no definite limits can be assigned to the new territory thus subjected to Persian rule.

Indian
satrapy of
Persian
empire.Expedition
of Darius.¹ Raleigh's *History of the World*, p. 125.² *Herodotus*, b. iv. c. 41.

B.C. 532.

The
Phœnicians.

Hitherto only a succession of ambitious monarchs has appeared on the scene, and India has become the prey successively of devastating armies from Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. An intercourse of a more peaceful and pleasing description was in the meantime carried on both by land and sea, and an active trade had been established, by which the East and West exchanged their peculiar products against each other, to the great advantage of both. This trade was chiefly in the hands of the Phœnicians, whose capital, Tyre, situated on the shores of the Levant, had in consequence risen to be one of the richest, mightiest, and most



RUINS OF TYRE.—From Camus, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, &c.*

Tyre.

splendid cities in the world.¹ This unexampled prosperity had engendered many vices, and the day of retribution, which prophets had been Divinely commissioned to denounce, was fast approaching. While Alexander the Great was

¹ Tyre had its original site on the mainland, and stretched along the Syrian coast, from the mouth of the Leontes to the headland of Ras-el-Ain, a distance from north to south of about seven miles. Immediately opposite to the centre of the town, and separated from it by a strait about 1200 yards or two-thirds of a mile wide, was an island nearly three miles in circuit. It is more than probable, that while the city on the mainland was standing, the island also was partly built upon; but it never became the proper site of the city, which, in contradistinction to Old, was called New Tyre, till the inhabitants, obliged to flee before the countless hosts of Assyrian conquerors, found the necessity of placing the sea between them and their enemies. They accordingly abandoned the mainland and took up their abode on the island, which, under the fostering influence of commerce, soon rose to be one of the finest and wealthiest cities in the world. Such was the Tyre to which Alexander laid siege. Nearly in the direction of a line drawn due north through the letter E, was the strait already mentioned. On the north and south sides of the island, are two curves which formed har-

bours, protected by a chain of rocky islets and sea-walls or breakwaters from the surges of the Mediterranean and the various prevailing winds. The north harbour, marked A, was the better and more frequented of the two; but the commerce of Tyre must have required the use of both, and additional facilities were given by a canal *a a*, which established a navigable communication between them. Alexander having no ships, must have seen at once that there was no possible way of taking a city thus situated, except by making a pathway across the strait. On both shores the water was shallow; and near the centre, where it was deepest, it did not exceed 6 fathoms. With the immense force at his command, there could be no want of labourers, while the materials necessary were within easy reach. The most formidable obstacle to success was in the means of resistance which the inhabitants possessed; and had Tyre been as fortunate as Syracuse, in having an Archimedes, Alexander must have failed. The mound of Alexander, once completed, formed a nucleus to which the waves of the sea and the winds of the desert made constant accretions, and hence, in course of time, the

making his first campaigns against the Persians, the inhabitants of Tyre had taken part with the latter, and by their maritime superiority, kept the coast of Macedonia and Greece in perpetual alarm. Alexander, incensed, turned back from his Persian conquests, and after subduing several of the adjoining cities, laid siege to Tyre. To a mind capable of being repelled by ordinary obstacles, the difficulty of the task would have been a sufficient dissuasive from attempting it. To him it was only an additional incentive, because, if he succeeded, his fame would be the greater. It also appears from a speech which Arrian puts into his mouth,¹ that he was actuated as much by policy as by revenge.

While the Tyrians remained independent and maintained a hostile attitude, he could not venture with safety to prosecute the ambitious schemes which he had begun in the East, and was also contemplating in Egypt. Hopeless, therefore, as it might have seemed for a land army to attempt the capture of a great maritime city strongly fortified by art, and rendered still stronger by its natural position on an island, and the possession of a powerful fleet commanding all the approaches to it, he at once commenced operations by constructing a mound, which, after the greatest difficulties had been surmounted, connected the island with the mainland, and formed a highway for the passage of his troops. The result was that, in about seven months, Tyre lay in

ruins. It might have risen from them again, for the lucrative trade which it monopolized would soon have made wealth to flow in upon it, and furnished the means of repairing its disaster. The fatal blow which extinguished its greatness was not struck till Alexander, after a successful campaign in Egypt, laid the foundation of Alexandria. The site was so happily chosen that the new city soon

physical features of the locality have undergone a remarkable change. What was once an island is now a peninsula. Other changes have taken place; and there is reason to believe that the island had at one time a larger extent than now appears. In fact, the encroachment of the sea is established by the appearance of walls, which are now covered by a con-

SOOR,
the ancient
TYRE.

15° 25' N. Lat.

33° 15' E. Long.

Scale of Fathoms.

0 500 1000 2000

Scale of Miles.

0 5 10

Palace
Mosque
Church
Fountain
Fountain

Quarried Ground

Bridge

Bishop of Tyre's Palace

Tail Harbor

Rocks of Tyre

Rocks of Tyre

Temple of Tyre

Marine

Palace

Mosque

Church

Fountain

Fountain

- A. Northern Harbour. B. Southern Harbour.
C. Northern (or Sidonian) Roadstead.
D. Southern (or Egyptian) Roadstead.
E. Isthmus formed by Alexander the Great.
a a. Line of Ancient Canal, connecting the Northern and Southern Harbours.

siderable depth of water, but are supposed to have been originally built on the western shore.

Of the present condition of Tyre it is unnecessary to say more than that it is little better than a fishing village, composed of wretched hovels huddled together in narrow, crooked, and filthy streets.

¹ Arrian's *Anabasis Alexandri*, b. ii. c. 17.

B.C. 331. became the central emporium of the East and the West. The trade of the world was thus diverted into a new channel, and Phœnician prosperity, once fallen, could not be revived. The downfall of Tyre has been dwelt upon here, both because it was indirectly the means of greatly extending the intercourse with India, and because to it probably is to be ascribed the determination which Alexander now expressed to persevere in his Eastern conquests. While he was engaged in the siege of Tyre, Darius, humbled by his previous defeats, made him the offer of a most advantageous peace, but he haughtily spurned all ideas of compromise, and plainly told him that his only alternative was unqualified submission, or a decision by the sword. The war thus resumed, so long as it was confined within the limits of Persia, is foreign to our subject, but the course which it subsequently took brings us at once to the most interesting period in the history of ancient India.

Flight of
Darius.

After the battle of Arbela, which was fought B.C. 331, and decided the fate of the Persian empire, Darius continued his flight eastwards into Bactria, through a pass in the Elburz Mountains, known to the Greeks by the name of the Caspian Gates. Alexander, following in pursuit, was informed that Bessus, the satrap of Bactria, had not only thrown off all allegiance to the Persian monarch, but had made him his prisoner. With mingled feelings of compassion for the fallen monarch, and indignation at the conduct of the satrap, he quickened his pace, and was flattering himself with the hope of a speedy capture, when he learned that Bessus, to increase his speed, and, at the same time, remove a great obstacle to his ambition, had disencumbered himself of his royal master, and left him on the road, dying of wounds which he had treacherously inflicted. When Alexander reached the spot, Darius was breathing his last.

Alexander's
pursuit of
Bessus.

Determined to punish the atrocity, Alexander lost no time in continuing the pursuit of the perpetrator. A thorough knowledge of the country gave Bessus great advantages, and these he improved to the utmost, by burning and devastating, so as to interpose a desert between him and his pursuer. Fortune seemed to favour his escape, when Alexander was obliged, by a revolt, to retrace his steps. During the winter of B.C. 330, Bessus was, in consequence, left in undisturbed possession of the usurped title of King of Persia. In the following spring, however, the pursuit was resumed, and the criminal having been delivered up by his own associates, paid the forfeit of his crimes by a barbarous mutilation and an excruciating death.

In avenging the death of Darius, Alexander had advanced far to the east, and seen a new world open before him. For a time, however, sensuality seemed to have gained the mastery over him, and many months were wasted in Bactria in drunken and licentious revellings. Ambition did not re-assume its ascendancy till B.C. 327, when he reached the banks of the Indus, and prepared to cross it with an army consisting of 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse. About 70,000 of these were Asiatics. The point at which he first reached the Indus has been made a

question; but it is admitted on all hands that he crossed it in the north of the Punjab, where the town of Attock now stands. Here a bridge of boats had been constructed by Hephæstion and Perdiccas, who had been sent forward with a division of the army for that purpose. When Alexander arrived, the south-west monsoon had set in, and the river was greatly swollen by the rains. Had the passage been opposed, it could scarcely have been forced; but Taxiles, the chief whose territories lay on the eastern bank, had hastened to give in his submission, and thus, instead of an enemy, proved a valuable auxiliary. In Taxila, his capital, described as a populous and wealthy city, unequalled by any situated, like itself, between the Indus and its nearest tributary, the Hydaspes or Jailum, Alexander and his army were hospitably entertained. In return for this hospitality, Taxiles received an arbitrary grant of as much adjoining territory as he chose to ask.

B.C. 327.

Alexander
crosses the
Indus.

If Alexander expected that all the Indian princes would prove as pusillanimous as Taxiles, he was soon undeceived. Porus, a native ruler, whose territories bounded those of demand for tribute with army on the left bank of the river, Alexander found rapid, and immediately saw passage could not be effected boats. The neighbourhood materials, he caused the on the Indus to be taken to pieces, and transported overland. The more serious obstacle still remained. Porus kept strict watch on the bank. His army appears to have been greatly outnumbered by that of Alexander, for the main body consisted of only 30,000 infantry, with an inconsiderable body of cavalry, 200 elephants, and 300 chariots; but placed as he was, numbers counted as nothing against him, since he could easily, with a mere handful of troops, overmatch any number, provided the attempt to force a passage were made openly. Alexander was too skilful a tactician not to perceive this at a single glance, and had, accordingly, from the very first, determined to trust less to open force than to stratagem. By a series of movements and counter-movements, he distracted the attention of the enemy, and kept him in a state of uncertainty as to the point where the attempt at crossing was likely to be made. Next, by selecting a number of stations along the bank, and making false alarms during the night, he obliged the troops of Porus to be always in motion, till nature itself was completely exhausted by want of repose. Lastly, by ordering provisions to be brought in from all quarters, he encouraged the belief that he had abandoned the idea of crossing until the swollen waters had subsided. Under this impression, the vigilance of Porus relaxed. Meanwhile, in

Passage
of the
Hydaspes.ALEXANDER THE GREAT.¹Alexander's
stratagem.¹ Silver tetradrachma of Lysimachus.—From British Museum.

B.C. 327. the course of reconnoitring, Alexander had discovered a spot where the channel was greatly contracted by an island. It was a good way up the stream, and, to lull suspicion, none of his troops were allowed to be seen near it. Craterus was stationed considerably below, with the main body of the army; and Porus, thinking that there the greatest danger lay, was encamped opposite to him. Alexander, selecting a body of chosen troops, amounting to about 6000 men, quitted the banks of the river and marched back into the interior, as if he had been called away by some sudden emergency. When out of sight he bent gradually round, and in the course of the night arrived on the bank opposite the island. The boats of the Indus were hastily launched, and he was steering his way among the foremost to the opposite bank, when the enemy's sentinels discovered him and gave the alarm. Porus first sent forward one of his sons with a small body, but these being speedily routed, he himself, leaving only a few troops to watch the motions of Craterus, hastened to the encounter. It was too late. Alexander, with a large portion of his detachment, had effected a landing, and stood on the bank among marshes, into which the elephants, to which Porus mainly trusted, could not venture. He therefore withdrew to the nearest spot of solid ground, and calmly waited Alexander's approach. As this is the first battle-field in which the soldiers of Europe were arrayed against those of India, a deep interest naturally attaches to all its arrangements, and will justify a fuller detail than might have been necessary under different circumstances.

Battle of the Hydaspes. Porus stationed his elephants in front, with an interval of 100 feet between each of them. The infantry were placed in a second line behind the elephants, and in such a way as to fill up the intervals. The two wings consisted of cavalry, and of the chariots ranged on either side beyond them. Alexander commenced the battle by attacking the enemy's left wing with his cavalry and mounted archers. He had anticipated that this attack would compel the enemy's right wing to move forward in support of its left, and had ordered that, in that case, a detachment of his cavalry under Cœnus should move round to the rear, and thus place the enemy's cavalry, as it were, between two fires. The result was as he had foreseen; and the enemy's cavalry was obliged, in order to meet the double attack, to face about and form two fronts. Taking advantage of the partial confusion thus produced, Alexander brought up his phalanx to the charge, and the enemy's wings, totally unable to sustain it, sought shelter by rushing into the intervals between the elephants. By these powerful animals the fortune of the day seemed for a short time to be retrieved, as they pressed forward and trampled down everything that opposed. The advantage, however, was only momentary. The Macedonians, under thorough discipline, opened their ranks, and then, as the elephants passed, attacked them on flank and rear, shooting down their guides, and inflicting wounds which, without being mortal, so galled them that they became utterly unmanageable. Thus hurried back among the Indian ranks, they produced irremediable confusion. At this critical

moment Craterus, who had succeeded in crossing the river, made his appearance. His troops were perfectly fresh, while the Indians, exhausted by fatigue, broken in spirit, and thinned in numbers, had lost all power of resistance. A dreadful slaughter ensued, and Porus saw his troops falling by thousands. He still, however, kept the field. During the whole day he had mingled in the thickest of the fight, and performed prodigies of valour. His stature, which was almost gigantic, and the elephant on which he was mounted, made him a conspicuous object for the Macedonian archers; and he must have fallen early had he not worn a coat of mail which no arrow could pierce. The right shoulder was the only part exposed, and in it he was severely wounded. His determination seemed to be to perish on the spot, for he was left almost alone before his attendants could induce him to mingle with the fugitives. About 12,000 of his troops were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. The Macedonian loss was trifling, amounting, at the utmost, according to Diodorus, to 700 infantry and 230 cavalry. According to Arrian, the loss of infantry was only eighty.

B.C. 327.

Porus
defeated.

Alexander, struck with admiration of the valour which Porus had displayed, was anxious to save his life, and sent Taxiles after him to endeavour to induce him to surrender. The choice was unfortunate, for the two native chiefs had long been at deadly feud; and Porus, when overtaken, was so exasperated at the sight of his old enemy, whom he probably also regarded as a main cause of the great disaster which had just befallen him, that he aimed a blow which Taxiles narrowly escaped. A second summons, by a more influential messenger, succeeded, and Porus, finding escape impossible, yielded himself a prisoner.

Surrender
of Porus.

In the midst of his misfortunes, Porus displayed a manliness and dignity which proved him worthy of a better fate. In one day he had lost his kingdom, and seen three of his sons fall in battle, but he disdained to assume the attitude of a suppliant, and, when Alexander, riding up at the head of his officers, asked how he wished to be treated, simply answered, "Royally." "That," rejoined Alexander, "I shall do for my own sake, but what am I to do for yours?" "Do just as I have said," was the reply. Sound policy combined with Alexander's natural magnanimity in making him desirous to secure the friendship of such a man. He accordingly heaped favours upon him, not only restoring his former territories, but enlarging them by many new annexations. Porus was not ungrateful, and continued faithful to his Macedonian masters.

In commemoration of his victory, Alexander erected a city on the spot, and gave it the name of Nicæa. Another city, which he erected on the site of his encampment on the right bank of the Hydaspes, he called Bucephala, in honour of his horse Bucephalus, which, after carrying him through all his campaigns, had recently died of old age or in battle. Neither of these cities has since been identified. After reposing for a time in the dominions of Porus, he again set out, and proceeded north-east into the territory of the Glaucæ, which is represented as densely peopled and covered with cities, many of them with

Alexander's
Jugrosæ.

B. C. 327.

Passage of
the Acesines.

more than 10,000 inhabitants. The terror of his name had preceded him, and the chiefs hastened to make their submission. It would seem that, before quitting the Hydaspes, his thoughts had been turned homewards; for on finding timber well fitted for the purpose, he caused immense quantities to be cut down and employed in building vessels, with which he proposed, at a later period, to descend the Indus. Meanwhile his ambition urged him forward, and he arrived at the banks of the Acesines or Chenaub. Though much broader and more impetuous than the Hydaspes, there was no enemy to dispute the passage, and it was crossed with comparative ease. It seems, however, that though no enemy appeared, the country was in possession of one whose name, somewhat strange to say, was also Porus. He was not only not related to the Porus of whom the above account has been given, but was at open enmity with him, and, probably under the influence of this enmity, had, previously to the battle of the Hydaspes, sent in his submission to Alexander. It appears, however, that the favour into which the other Porus had been received had offended or alarmed him; and therefore, on the news of Alexander's approach, instead of waiting either to welcome him as a friend or oppose him as an enemy, he suddenly disappeared, carrying almost all the youth of the country fit for arms along with him. Alexander, offended, endeavoured to overtake him; and in the course of the pursuit arrived at another of the Punjab rivers, called the Hydrates or Ravee. Before crossing it, he bestowed the territories of the fugitive Porus on his more deserving namesake. The passage, which, according to Rennel,¹ took place near Lahore, he appears to have effected without difficulty; but in the country beyond, he found a formidable combination formed to resist him. Three native states, of which that of the Malli was the most powerful, had united their forces against the invader. In the campaign which followed, Alexander was drawn far to the south, where a strong city, which bore the name of Sangala or Sagala was situated, somewhere between Lahore and Mooltan. Both from the description and the name of the inhabitants, it is conjectured to have been nearer the latter. Resistance in the open field soon proved hopeless; and the confederates, as a last refuge, shut themselves up in Sangala, which occupied a commanding position, and was otherwise as strong as Indian art could make it. Alexander commenced the siege, and carried it on with so much vigour that the place soon fell into his hands. The resistance had exasperated him; and forgetting the magnanimity which he had displayed in the case of Porus, he disgraced himself by a horrible massacre, in which neither age nor sex was spared.

Arrival at
the Hypha-
sis.

From this atrocity Alexander turned to make new conquests, and reached the banks of the Hyphasis or Beas. Here he was met by an obstacle more formidable than any he had yet encountered. His European troops, worn out with long service, had become impatient; and, when he formally intimated his intention to cross the river, broke out into loud murmurs. In vain he harangued

¹ Rennel, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan.*

them, and pointed to the country beyond, where new victories and rich spoils awaited them. Their hearts were set on home, and they plainly declared their determination not to proceed. Even Coenus, one of the generals who stood highest in his favour, espoused the cause of the soldiers, and delivered a speech which, if less rhetorical than that of his master, made a deeper impression, and was received with acclamations. For a time Alexander was immovable, and declared that, even if his own countrymen should abandon him, he would place himself at the head of his Asiatic subjects. This, however, was mere bravado; and on finding that his Greeks were not to be worked upon, either by threats or promises, he announced his intention to return.

B.C. 327.

Late in the autumn of B.C. 327, he had retraced his steps to the Hydaspes, and found the fleet which he had ordered to be constructed, in readiness to carry him down the stream. The voyage itself was not free from danger; but the greatest risk which Alexander ran, was during one of the frequent descents which he made on land for the purpose of subjugating the adjoining territories. While storming one of the cities of the Malli, he found himself almost alone on the rampart. He could easily have saved himself by a retrograde movement, but disdaining to have it said that he had turned his back, he leaped inside, and was for a time exposed to the whole fury of the defenders. Having gained a tree and placed his back against it, he made almost superhuman exertions, and kept his opponents at bay till an arrow pierced deep into his shoulder, and he fell down in a swoon. Another moment and his death was inevitable; but the time gained by his defence had been gallantly redeemed by his troops, and several of his officers rushing in, placed their shields around him. The wound, at first deemed mortal, spread grief and consternation among his followers; but the vigour of his constitution and the skill of his physicians prevailed, and he was able ere long to make his appearance amid general rejoicings.

Alexander's return.

In proceeding down the river, Alexander formed his army into three divisions, two of which marched along the opposite bank, while the third, under his own command, kept the stream. He afterwards despatched Craterus with a third of the army by an inland route across Arachosia and Drangiana to Carmania or Kerman, and proceeded with the remainder down the Indus. On arrival at Pattala, evidently the modern Tatta, situated near the apex of the delta, he remained for some time; and, on departing, sent a body of troops to explore the adjoining country, and afterwards join him at a fixed place of rendezvous. He selected the west branch of the river for the remainder of his voyage, during which his want of pilots and ignorance of navigation exposed him to serious danger. This was not diminished but rather increased on reaching the estuary. Acquainted only with the insignificant tides of the Mediterranean, what was his astonishment and that of his Greeks when they beheld the magnificent tide of the Indian Ocean rushing in, and, in consequence of the sudden contraction of the opposite shores, moving rapidly along in one volume

Descent of the Indus.

B. C. 326. of water several feet high! This singular phenomenon, now well known to mariners by the name of the *bore*, and common to the Indus with many other rivers similarly situated, produced not only wonder but terror, because it seemed to portend the destruction of the whole fleet. In point of fact, considerable damage was sustained before the necessary precautions could be taken.

Voyage of
Nearchus.

Here Alexander's maritime adventures ended. The little he had seen of the sea had probably left him no desire to become better acquainted with its dangers. These he left Nearchus to encounter, by giving him the command of the fleet, with injunctions to skirt and explore the shore from the Indus westward. He himself, with the main body of the army, took leave of India for ever by an inland route, which, though he was not aware of the fact, was the more perilous of the two, as it led through the heart of a sandy desert, which stretches, almost without interruption, from the eastern edge of the basin of the Indus across the south of the Asiatic and the north of the African continent to the Atlantic Ocean.

Effects of
Alexander's
expedition.

The Indian expedition of Alexander cannot be justified on moral grounds. It was dictated by a wild and ungovernable ambition; and spread misery and death among thousands and tens of thousands who had done nothing to offend him, and were peacefully pursuing their different branches of industry, when he made his appearance among them like a destroying demon. Such exploits, once deemed the only avenues to fame, are now judged more wisely. Still it is impossible to deny that conquerors were often in early times pioneers of civilization, commerce following peacefully along their bloody track, and compensating for their devastation by the blessings which it diffused. Such was certainly the result of the Indian expedition of Alexander; and therefore, while reprobating the motives in which it originated, we cannot but rejoice that it was so overruled by Providence as to be productive of most important and valuable results.

Seleucus
Nicator.

The conquests of Alexander were never consolidated, and formed only a nominal Macedonian empire, which fell to pieces on his death, and was partitioned by his officers. The most eastern portion was given to Seleucus Nicator, who established himself in Babylon, and became the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, which lasted for two centuries and a half. In the early part of his reign, the struggles which he had to maintain with powerful competitors completely engrossed his attention; but when, by the overthrow of Antigonus, he felt firmly seated on the throne, he appears to have become animated with an ambition to imitate the exploits of Alexander, and carry his arms far to the East. India, indeed, he naturally regarded as forming part of his territory, and, on hearing that the natives had risen in insurrection, killed Alexander's prefects, and thrown off the Macedonian yoke, he resolved to treat them as rebels. Accordingly, after having made himself master of Bactria, he crossed the Indus, and entered the territories of which Taxiles and Porus were still rulers. Neither

of them disputed his authority, and he continued his progress till he reached the country of the Prasii, over whom Sandracottus had usurped the sovereignty, after he had murdered their lawful king. This usurper, whose identity with Chandragupta, who figures in the traditions and also in a drama of the Hindoos, has been established, was of low origin, and, according to Justin,¹ the chief classical authority for all that is known of him, owed his rise to a pretended zeal for liberty. His countrymen, believing him, placed power in his hands, and the first use he made of it was to enslave them.

B. C. 305?

Sandracottus and Chandragupta.

Unprincipled though Sandracottus had proved himself to be by the mode in which he attained the throne, he soon showed by his talents that he was not unworthy of reigning, and, by force, fear, or persuasion, had extended his dominions on every side, till he was able to bring into the field an army estimated by hundreds of thousands. Such was the enemy with whom Seleucus was about to come into collision. We cannot wonder that the prospect made him pause, and that, more especially on learning how much his presence was required in the West, where new wars were raging, he was glad to propose terms of accommodation. Sandracottus, aware of his advantage, made the most of it; and all that Seleucus obtained was 500 elephants, in return for which he ceded all his Indian territories on both sides of the Indus. As a means of cementing the treaty, Sandracottus married the daughter of Seleucus. The capital of the kingdom of the Prasii, called by classical writers Palibothra, and by the Hindoos Pataliputra, and believed to have stood on or near the site of the modern Patna, formed a quadrangle of vast extent, inclosed by wooden walls loop-holed for arrows.²

Sandracottus and Seleucus.

The alliance between Seleucus and Sandracottus was not disturbed; and Megasthenes, who long lived at Palibothra as ambassador from the former, wrote a work which, notwithstanding its excessive leaning to the marvellous, was the great source from which ancient classical writers derived most of what they knew concerning the interior of India. The period of Indian history subsequent to the reign of Seleucus is very imperfectly known. Recently an unexpected light has been thrown upon it by the discovery of large quantities of coins, which show that the western portion of the country continued subject to the Greek kings, who had the seat of their government in Bactria. Considerable progress, also, has been made in deciphering and interpreting certain monumental inscriptions which are written in an unknown alphabet, and, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, seemed as if they had been designed not so much to inform as to puzzle posterity. The key having at length been found, some valuable information has already been obtained, and more may be expected; but as yet the amount is too scanty to justify any attempt at detail. All that need be said here is, that after several of the Seleucide, among whom Antiochus the Great is most conspicuous, and several Kings of Bactria, which first became independent

Greek Kings of Bactria.

¹ Justin, *Historie Philippica*, l. xv. c. 1.² Strabo, xv. 1, 35.

B.C. 26.

Huns and
Scythians.

under Theodotus about B.C. 260, had held sovereignty to a greater or less extent in India, a horde of Scythians, driven by the Huns from the shores of the Jaxartes, made their appearance about a century before the Christian era, and gained a firm footing in the lower basin of the Indus. Here they formed what has been called the Indo-Scythic province of Scinde, and were endeavouring, against a bold and often successful opposition from the natives, to force their



SILVER COIN OF EUCRATIDES.¹—From a specimen in British Museum.

Viceram-
ditya.

way into the fertile basin of the Ganges, when another horde arrived from Persia about B.C. 26 under the leadership of Yu-chi, who gained for them a temporary ascendancy, and became the founder of an Indo-Scythian dynasty. About the same time a native prince called Viceram-ditya, who is one of the greatest

heroes in Hindoo story, established an extensive sovereignty, which had the Nerbudda for its southern boundary; and at Oojein, his capital, held a court, remarkable not only for its splendour, but for the number of learned men whom the enlightened liberality of the sovereign had drawn around him. In Southern India, also, several native sovereignties appear to have been established as early as the Christian era. Among these the most conspicuous are Pandya, which occupied a large tract in the south-west of the peninsula, and one of whose kings, called Pandion, is said by Strabo to have sent an ambassador to the Roman emperor Augustus; and Chola, which, including the Carnatic, extended over a large portion of the south-east of the peninsula, and reached north to the banks of the Godavery. They are now, however, little better than empty names, as they do not furnish during their long duration any facts so well authenticated as to entitle them to a place in history.

Roman in-
tercourse
with India.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Romans, though they boasted of being the rulers of the world, never possessed an inch of territory in India. On several occasions during their wars in the East, they came into collision with sovereigns whose dominions reached beyond the Indus, but the tide of Roman victory invariably stopped, as if it had met an insuperable barrier, before it reached that celebrated stream. It was not ignorance or indifference that led the Romans thus to contract the limits of their eastern frontier. On the contrary, several of their most popular writers had made them well acquainted with the geography and the leading physical features of India, while many of its peculiar products were exhibited for sale in their marts, and found eager purchasers, often at enormous prices. They must often have longed to be masters of a country

¹ Eucratides, King of Bactria (about B.C. 181) was contemporary with Mithridates I., King of Parthia, and appears to have been one of the most powerful of the Bactrian kings.

which ministered so greatly to their luxury and comfort; and however much they may have wished it to be thought that they could have carried their conquests farther, had they believed that there was anything beyond to tempt their ambition, it is sufficiently obvious that India never felt the terror of their power, merely because inhospitable deserts and warlike nations interposed to place it beyond their reach.

B.C. —

While it is impossible to give the Romans credit for moderation in refraining from any attempt to conquer India, it is pleasing to find in their conduct an illustration of the important fact, that the peaceful intercourse which commerce carries on between distant nations, besides escaping all the horrors which war carries in its train, secures all and more than all the advantages which could have been hoped from the most absolute and least expensive form of conquest. In Rome and all its dependencies, the rich products of the soil and the looms of India arrived as surely, as abundantly, and as cheaply as they could have done had the whole country from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin been one vast Roman province.

Before leaving ancient India, it will not be out of place to take a survey of the leading routes by which, at this early period, the traffic between the East and West was conducted. Overland the only practicable method of traffic was by means of caravans, which, after quitting the western confines of India, proceeded directly to Bactria. Here the first great halt was made at Balkh, on the southern frontiers, and a great emporium was established. From Bactria the usual line of route was toward Babylon, which, in like manner, became another great emporium. In pursuing this line the shores of the Caspian were nearly approached, and advantage was often taken of it to ship goods, which were carried north to a convenient spot, and then conveyed by land to the Black Sea, by which not only the countries adjacent to the coasts could be supplied, but an easy access could be had through the Dardanelles to the ports of the Mediterranean. From Babylon the route westward led directly to Palmyra, which, in consequence of the mart thus established, overcame all the disadvantages of its situation in the heart of a desert, and became the capital of a powerful and opulent kingdom. From Palmyra the coast of the Levant was reached without much difficulty, and its harbours became places of exchange for the three quarters of the globe, bartering the spices of India and the frankincense of Arabia against the peculiar products both of Europe and Africa. Besides the direct overland route now traced, there were many lines of divergence from what may be called its main trunk. These were chiefly intended to supply the places which lay at a distance on either side of it, and thus furnished the means of transport for a very extensive inland trade.

Leading
routes of
Indian com-
merceInland
routes

The overland route, which, but for the camel, would have been altogether impracticable, was necessarily slow, toilsome, and expensive, and was therefore less extensively used than the maritime route, especially after a knowledge of

B.C. — the monsoons in the Indian Ocean had emboldened navigators, even before the compass was discovered, to launch out into the deep and steer their course directly across from shore to shore. In this way the outward voyage was accomplished by the south-west, and the homeward by the north-east monsoon—the former, consequently, in the summer, and the latter in the winter months. This was a vast improvement on the earlier mode of navigation, but even before it was discovered the trade by sea obtained great importance. Mention has already been made of the Phœnicians, who, by means of it, acquired an opulence which made the merchants of Tyre princes, and a power which it took all the skill, prowess, and perseverance of Alexander the Great to overthrow. As they could not communicate directly with India, and were unwilling to depend for transport on the Egyptians, who might at any time, by declining to perform their part of it, have extinguished the trade, they, by force or negotiation, made themselves masters of some convenient harbours on the Arabian coast, near the entrance of the Red Sea, and, using them as entrepôts, formed a communication with Tyre by a land route, of which they had secured the entire control. The distance was still so great as to be very inconvenient; and hence new facilities for the trade were obtained when the Phœnicians took possession of Rhinocolura, the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. It is true that before the goods could reach Tyre a double re-shipment thus became necessary; but the diminished land carriage more than compensated for this disadvantage, and enabled them, by the abundance and cheapness with which they could supply other nations, to establish almost a complete monopoly of the Indian trade.

Maritime
routes.

Route used
by the
Phœnicians.

On the destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria, the trade with India entered a new channel, in which it continued afterwards to flow for nearly eighteen centuries. Alexander had the merit of selecting this channel, but died too soon to see its advantages realized. So thoroughly, however, had he imparted his ideas to Ptolemy Lagus, that that officer, on becoming master of Egypt, made Alexandria his capital, and provided its harbour with a light-house, in the erection of which so much magnificence and engineering skill were displayed, that it ranked as one of the seven wonders of the world. His views were followed out by his son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, who, after endeavouring, but without success, to form a canal across the isthmus of Suez, which would have given a continuous water communication to Alexandria, founded the new city of Berenice on the west coast of the Red Sea. From this city a land carriage, not unattended with difficulties, which great exertions were made to surmount, brought the products of India to Coptos. The remaining distance to Alexandria was easily completed by a short canal and the Nile.

Route by
Alexandria.

Through the channel thus opened, the wealth of India continued to flow into Egypt so long as it remained an independent kingdom. Outward vessels leaving Berenice with such articles of European and African export as were in

demand in the East, skirted the Arabian and Persian coasts, taking advantage of such prominent head-lands as enabled them to steer direct without following the windings of the shore, and thus reached the Indian coast near the mouths of the Indus. How far they afterwards proceeded south is not known; but as there was no obstacle in the way, and some of the most prized products of the country lay in that direction, it is to be presumed that, instead of confining themselves to a few isolated spots, they formed a general acquaintance with the whole sea-board. To secure the command of this lucrative trade, the Egyptian kings maintained a large fleet at sea, which, while it kept down piracy, deterred other nations from entering into competition with them. The nation which could have done so with most effect was Persia, which possessed the obvious and very important advantage of a far shorter sea passage. From the Persian Gulf they could have reached India in about half the time which the Egyptians must have taken. The Persians, however, had long an aversion to maritime enterprise—an aversion so great, that they are said to have erected barriers across the Tigris and Euphrates for the purpose of rendering it impossible. Be this as it may, it seems established that the Indian produce which they obtained for their own use, or the supply of adjacent countries, came mostly overland by the caravans. Another cause of the supineness of the Persians in regard to maritime intercourse with India, may be found in the erroneous ideas generally entertained respecting the proper limits of the Caspian Sea on the north, and its relative position to the Black Sea. The Caspian was somewhat unaccountably imagined to be a branch of the great Northern Ocean, and it was believed that by means of it a channel of communication might be opened up with Europe, which might thus be made to receive the products of India by a far shorter route than the Indian Ocean, and consequently at a far cheaper rate than they could be furnished by the Egyptians. Ideas of this kind seem to have weighed particularly with some of Alexander's successors in the East. Seleucus Nicator, the first and one of the ablest of them, is even said to have contemplated a canal which would have joined the Caspian and Black Seas, and thereby secured a monopoly of European and Indian traffic.

After the Romans conquered Egypt and converted it into a province, in B.C. 30, the channels of traffic with the East continued unchanged, while its amount was enormously increased both by land and sea. By the latter, in particular, the traffic received an impulse unfelt before, when a navigator of the name of Hippalus conceived the idea of cutting off nearly a half of the voyage between the Red Sea and India, by abandoning the timid track pursued along the intervening shores, and steering boldly far out of sight of land through the very middle of the ocean. The plan seems so natural, and the considerations which suggested it so obvious, that one finds some difficulty in recognizing Hippalus as the inventor, or in giving him much credit for the invention. He had simply observed the regularity of the monsoons, and concluded that by

B.C. —

The Persians
averse to
maritime
enterprise.

Errors in
geography.

Hippalus
takes ad-
vantage of
the mon-
soons.

B.C. — choosing the proper seasons, the one would carry him out and the other bring him home.

Pliny's account of the voyage to India.

The course of the voyage, and even the time occupied by it, is minutely detailed by the elder Pliny.¹ The cargo destined for India being embarked on the Nile, was conveyed by it and a short canal to Coptos, a distance of 303 miles. At Coptos the land carriage commenced, and was continued 258 miles to Berenice, on the west shore of the Red Sea. From Berenice the vessel started about midsummer, and after a short halt near the Straits of Bab-el-mandeb, took its final departure usually for Musiris on the Malabar coast. The whole time occupied, on an average, from the Mediterranean to India was a little more than three months, or ninety-four days. Of these, the inland navigation to Coptos occupied twelve, the land transport to Berenice twelve, the voyage down the Red Sea thirty, and the voyage across the Indian Ocean forty days. The time occupied by the Red Sea voyage seems out of all proportion to the other, but may be accounted for partly by the difficulty of navigating a sea notorious for



RUINS OF PALMYRA.—From Cassas, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie*, &c.

baffling winds and storms, and perhaps partly also by delays which may have been occasioned by calling on both sides of the coast for the purpose of completing the cargo. The homeward voyage, commenced early in December, appears to have been the far more tedious of the two.

Though the Persians had failed to take advantage of their maritime proximity to India, the Romans had no sooner carried their eastern frontier to the

¹ Plinii *Historia Naturalis*, b. vi. c. 23.

banks of the Euphrates, than an important trade sprung up in the Persian Gulf, and Indian produce was transported in large quantities up the river, and then west to Palmyra, which reaped the advantage to such an extent that even Rome condescended at one time to court its alliance. After this proud city had declined and was tottering to its fall, the Persian monarchs continued the traffic which had been established, and by means of it enriched themselves at the expense of the Greeks, who had made Constantinople the capital of their empire. As we have now touched on medieval times, it may suffice, in concluding the sketch of ancient India, to mention that the great staples of its trade were then nearly the same as at present, and consisted chiefly of cotton and silk goods, dyes, drugs, spices and aromatics, pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones. These were paid chiefly in the precious metals, but partly also in woollen cloth, lead, tin, brass, wine, and a few foreign perfumes. Though a passage in the *Institutes of Menu*, which refers to sea voyages as well as land journeys, implies that the inhabitants of India had begun at an early period to navigate the ocean, they seem to have confined themselves to coasting, and to have left the external trade entirely in the hands of strangers. This aversion to commit themselves to the open sea had its origin in superstitious fears, which still continue to operate.

A.D. —

Indian trade
by the Per-
sian Gulf.

CHAPTER II.

Medieval India—Arab conquests—First appearance of Mahometans in India—Conquest of Scinde by Mohamed Casim—Expulsion of the Arabs—House of Ghuznee—Sebektegin—Sultan Mahmood.



MAHOMETANISM, which had made little progress so long as persuasion only was employed to propagate it, no sooner began to wield the sword than it spread rapidly on every side. Before the death of Mahomet, in 632, it had subdued all Arabia, and made a considerable impression both on Syria and Persia; and under his successors it had, in the course of less than a century, not only consolidated these conquests, but established an empire which stretched continuously from Arabia as a centre, west to the Atlantic, engulfing Spain and threatening the fairest portion of France—north and north-east through Persia, to the vast region which extends between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, from the Caspian to Mount Imaus—and east beyond the banks of the Indus. Its progress in this last direction must now be traced.

As early as the caliphate of Omar, the Arabs, coasting along the shores of the Indian Ocean, had made predatory descents upon Scinde, chiefly for the

Rapid
progress of
Mahome-
tanism.

A.D. 664.

First appearance of the Arabs in India

Mohamed Casim.

His capture of Dewal.

His subsequent conquests.

purpose of carrying off the women, whose beauty was in high repute, to adorn the Arabian harems; but no land expedition deserving of notice took place till 664, when part of an Arab force which had penetrated from Merv to Cabool, and gained, it is said, 12,000 converts, was despatched to explore the lower part of the Punjab. This detachment, under the command of Mohalib, who afterwards figured as a warrior in Persia and Arabia, forced its way into Mooltan, and returned with numerous captives. The next expedition was on a greater scale, and led to more permanent results. An Arab ship had been seized at Dewal, a seaport of Scinde. Restitution was demanded, but Rajah Dahir, whose territories are said to have included Mooltan and all Scinde, together with some adjacent plains, endeavoured to evade compliance, by pretending that Dewal was not subject to his authority. The Arabs, thus refused redress, determined to compel it, and, with this view, sent a body consisting only of 1000 infantry and 300 horse. It was altogether inadequate, and perished. Exasperated at the failure, Hejaj, governor of Bussorah in 711, despatched a regular force of 6000 men, under the command of his nephew Mohamed Casim, who, though only a youth of twenty, possessed great military talents, and after surmounting all difficulties, encamped under the walls of Dewal. The siege commenced with an attack on a celebrated pagoda contiguous to the town, and inclosed by a high wall of hewn stone. In addition to the Brahmins who usually occupied it, it had a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The defence was resolute, and might have been successful, had not Casim learned that the safety of the place was conceived to depend on a flag which was flying from a tower. Acting on this information, he directed all his engines against the flag, and had no sooner struck it down, than the resistance became so feeble as to make his entrance easy. With barbarous fanaticism he circumcised all the Brahmins, as a first step to their conversion, and on finding it ineffectual, put all the males above seventeen to death, and made slaves of the women and children. The capture of Dewal itself soon followed, and Casim continued his victorious progress, taking in succession, Nerun (the modern Hyderabad), Sehwan, and a fortress called Salim. A more formidable resistance was, however, in preparation; and the arrival of the rajah's eldest son at the head of a strong force, reduced him to the necessity of acting on the defensive. This continued, till the arrival of 2000 Persian horse gave him once more the superiority; and he began to advance on Alor, the capital, which was situated in the north of Scinde, near the modern Bukkur.

The rajah himself being now, as it were, brought to bay, determined to make a final stroke for his kingdom, and appeared at the head of an army of 50,000 men. Casim again stood on the defensive, and skilfully compensated for inferiority of numbers by the strength of his position. The rajah, advancing boldly to the attack, was wounded by an arrow, and at the same time the elephant on which he was mounted, being struck by a fireball, rushed off in

terror and plunged with him into the river. The occurrence completely disconcerted the Indians; and though Dahir mounted a horse, and displayed both skill and courage in endeavouring to rally them, it was too late. The fortune of the day was decided, and his gallant effort to retrieve it only cost him his life.

A.D. 714.

The remains of the Indian army took refuge in the city of Brahmanabad. Casim advanced against it, and met a resistance which probably he had not anticipated. The rajah's widow heroically assumed the defence, and made it good while provisions lasted. When they failed, and resistance in consequence became hopeless, she erected a funeral pile, and committed herself and children to the flames. Many of the garrison, equally prepared for death, met it by throwing open the gates and rushing out to perish by the swords of the besiegers. Those who remained had no better fate. On the assault, all in arms were slaughtered; the rest were carried into bondage. Casim, in pursuing his conquests, took Mooltan without resistance, and became master of all the territories which had belonged to Rajah Dahir.

Heroic
defence of
Brahmana-
bad.

It would seem that, beside the children who perished with their mother in Brahmanabad, the rajah had two daughters possessed of great personal attractions. They were among the captives; and seeming fit to grace the caliph's harem, were accordingly conveyed to Damascus, which was at this time the capital of the caliphate. On their arrival, Walid, the caliph, whose curiosity had been excited, ordered the elder to be brought to him. On entering, she burst into tears, exclaiming, "How can I be worthy of your notice, after having been dishonoured by Casim?" Walid, consulting only his indignation, sent orders forthwith to sew up Casim in a raw hide, and send him forward. When the body arrived, it was produced to the rajah's daughter, who, overjoyed, exclaimed, "Now I am satisfied; Casim was innocent of the crime I imputed to him, but he was the ruin of my family, and I have had my revenge."

Singular
revenge

After Casim's death in 714, the Arabs made no new conquests in India. Even those which he had effected were maintained only till the downfall of the Ommeiad dynasty in 750, when the Hindoos rose in insurrection, and recovered all that had been wrested from them.

Reference has been made to the Arab conquest of the territory between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. From its position it is usually called by classical writers Transoxiana, and by Arab writers Mawar ul Nahr, words literally meaning *beyond the river*. Its inhabitants were mostly Persians, living in fixed habitations, and nomadic Tartars, the latter forming apparently the great majority. This territory, which the Arabs first entered in 706, and overran in the course of the eight following years, became finally dissevered from their empire about 820, and was ruled successively by the Tahirites till 872, the Sofarides till 892, and the Somanis till 1004. The last dynasty becomes interesting, because during it, and owing to one of its princes, the house of

Arab
conquest
of Trans-
oxiana.

A. D. 976. Ghuznee, which plays a most important part in the history of India, was founded.

Alptegin,
founder of
the house of
Ghuznee.

Alptegin, the founder of the house of Ghuznee, was originally a Turki slave to Abdulmelek, the fifth prince of the Somani line, and had no higher office than that of amusing his master by tumbling and tricks of legerdemain. He was capable, however, of much better, and gradually rose to be governor of Khorasan. On the death of Abdulmelek, in 961, he lost the favour of his successor, Mansur, by recommending that another member of the family should be selected for the throne, was deprived of his government, and ran great risk of losing both his liberty and his life. After a variety of narrow escapes, in which he displayed much courage and military talent, he found an asylum with a body of faithful followers at Ghuznee, among the mountains of Soliman. Here he declared his independence, and succeeded in maintaining it till his death, in 976. He was succeeded by Sebektegin, who, like himself, had been originally a Turki slave, but had risen so much in his favour that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him his heir.

Sebektegin:
anecdote of
him.

Sebektegin's future sovereignty is said to have been early foretold. One day, while a private horseman, he hunted down a fawn and was carrying it off, when he looked behind and saw its mother following with such signs of distress, that he was moved with compassion and set the fawn at liberty. The joy and apparent gratitude expressed by the mother made so strong an impression upon him, that when he went to sleep it became the subject of a dream, in which Mahomet appeared to him, and announced that as a reward for his humanity he was destined to be a king. The prediction, if it was made, had no sooner been fulfilled, than an event took place which threatened to render it fruitless. The inhabitants on the left bank of the Indus had for nearly three centuries been living in the enjoyment of their recovered independence; but they knew enough of the cruelty and oppression which their forefathers had endured while subjected to an Arab yoke, and were naturally filled with alarm when they saw a new Mahometan kingdom established on their frontiers. It therefore seemed to them good policy not to wait till the threatened calamity overtook them, but to endeavour by anticipating to prevent it. The initiative in this bold enterprise was undertaken by Rajah Jeipal, who ruled over a large extent of territory, and kept his court at Lahore. Crossing the Indus, he advanced till he came up with the troops of Sebektegin, who commanded in person, and was accompanied by his son, who, then only a boy, gave proof of the talents which afterwards made him celebrated under the name of Sultan Mahmood. After some time spent in skirmishing, the armies were on the eve of fighting a great battle, when a fearful storm of wind, thunder, and hail occurred. Both armies suffered greatly, but not to the same extent. The troops of Ghuznee soon recovered from the disaster, whereas those of Hindoostan, being at once less hardy and more superstitious, were so dispirited that Jeipal was

Native con-
federation
against him.

A D. 997.

glad to propose terms of accommodation. Mahmood stood out, and would be satisfied with nothing short of a decisive victory; but his father, more prudent and moderate, was satisfied with a present payment in elephants and gold, and the promise of a certain amount of annual tribute. Jeipal returned humiliated to Lahore, and endeavoured to hide his shame by breaking his promise. When the messengers of Sebektegin arrived to receive the tribute, he not only refused it, but threw them into prison.

Warlike preparations on a grander scale than before again commenced. Sebektegin advanced to take revenge; and Jeipal, aware how much he had done to provoke it, endeavoured to ward it off by means of a confederacy, in which, in addition to other rajahs of less importance, he was joined by those of Delhi, Ajmeer, Callinger, and Canouge. Thus supported, he advanced at the head of an army composed of an innumerable host of foot and 100,000 horse. In his Oriental phraseology Ferishta says,¹ that when Sebektegin ascended a hill to view the forces of Jeipal, they “appeared in extent like the boundless ocean, and in number like the ants or locusts of the wilderness;” but instead of being dismayed at his vast inferiority in point of numbers, “he considered himself as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep.” So confident, indeed, was he, that, disdaining to act on the defensive, he commenced the attack by singling out a certain point in the enemy’s line, and charging it by successive squadrons of 500 men. When in this way he had thrown it into disorder, he made a general assault, and carried everything before him. The Hindoos, panic-struck, thought only of flight, and suffered immense slaughter. The Indian camp yielded a rich plunder. The more permanent results of the victory were, that Sebektegin was acknowledged king of all the territory west of the Neelab or Upper Indus, and sent one of his officers with 10,000 horse to govern Peshawar.

War between
Sebektegin
and Rajah
Jeipal.

Sebektegin died in 997, after a reign of twenty years distinguished by prudence, equity, and moderation. His death was sudden, but during his last moments he named his son Ismael his heir. He appears, indeed, to have had a better title than Mahmood, who, though elder, was illegitimate. Ultimately, however, after a war of succession, in which Ismael was worsted and imprisoned for life, Mahmood, assuming the title of sultan, which, though well known in Arabia, had not previously been borne by any prince of Turkish origin, seated himself firmly on his father’s throne.

Sebektegin’s
death.

Mahmood was of an athletic form, but was strongly marked with the small-pox, and so deficient in personal beauty, that one day, on beholding himself in a glass, he exclaimed, “The sight of a king should brighten the eyes of the beholders, but nature has been so unkind to me that my appearance is positively forbidding.” This defect probably made him less disposed to indulge in youthful pleasures, and concurred with his natural temper in inducing him to seek fame by military exploits. He has already been seen urging his father to reject

Sultan
Mahmood.

¹ Brigg’s *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 18.

A.D. 1004. the terms of accommodation offered by Rajah Jeipal, and we are therefore prepared to see him enter on a career of Indian conquest. At first a series of struggles, which ended in the extinction of the Somani dynasty, engrossed his attention, but no sooner were these settled than he turned his eye to India. His first expedition took place in 1001, when, at Peshawer with only 10,000 chosen horse, he encountered his old enemy Rajah Jeipal at the head of 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and 300 elephants. The field was keenly contested, but at last Jeipal, with fifteen of his chiefs, was taken prisoner. Mahmood, whose avarice was at least equal to his ambition, was able to gratify both passions by the victory, which, in addition to its fame, yielded him a rich spoil, partly in Jeipal's jewelled necklaces, one of which was valued at 180,000 dinars, or about £81,000. The value of the spoil was largely increased by the large ransom which he obtained for the prisoners. Jeipal did not long avail himself of his freedom. Dispirited by his two defeats, or, it is said, disqualified by them, according to a Hindoo custom, from any longer reigning, he resigned the crown to his son, and placing himself on a funeral pile, set fire to it with his own hands.

Defeat and death of Jeipal.

Defeat of Beejy Ray.

In 1004, on failure of the tribute promised by the Hindoos, Sultan Mahmood again set out, and passing through the province of Mooltan arrived at a city called Bhateea. Its position is not ascertained; but it was surrounded by a very high wall and a deep and broad ditch, and belonged to a Rajah Beejy Ray, who, trusting both to its fortifications and the difficult nature of the surrounding country, was not afraid to measure his strength against that of the sultan. He had so skilfully seized the strong posts, that for three days he not only kept the Mahometans at bay, but inflicted on them such severe losses that they were on the point of abandoning the enterprise. In this emergency, Sultan Mahmood displayed his wonted inflexibility of purpose, and in announcing his intention to lead the main attack in person, added, "To-day I have devoted myself to conquest or death." Both armies, indeed, had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; Beejy Ray, on his side, performing religious services by which he was believed by his followers to have propitiated the gods; while the sultan, after turning his face to Mecca, and prostrating himself in sight of his troops, started suddenly up, exclaiming, "Advance! advance! our prayers have found favour with God!" An obstinate struggle took place, but Mahometan prowess prevailed, and the Indians were pursued to the gates of the town. Here, though a stand of a few days took place, resistance was found to be hopeless; and the rajah being overtaken during an attempt to lead off his troops by night, only escaped imprisonment by rushing on his own sword. Two hundred and eighty elephants, numerous captains, and a large spoil were taken in Bhateea, which with its dependencies was annexed to Ghuznee.

Sultan Mahmood encountered by Anangpal

Mahmood's next Indian expedition took place in 1005. Its main object was to chastise Abul Fattah Lodi, the chief of Mooltan, who, though a Mussulman, had thrown off his allegiance and leagued with Anangpal, the son and successor

of the unfortunate Rajah Jeipal. Not deterred by his father's fate, Anangpal encountered Mahmood near Peshawer, and sustained a defeat which compelled him to take refuge in Cashmere. The victorious sultan continued his march to Mooltan, and obtained the submission of its chief. He would doubtless have exacted more rigorous terms than submission, and also made Anangpal feel the full weight of his vengeance, had he not been under the necessity of hastening home to repel the formidable invasion of a Tartar prince of the name of Elik Khan, who had hoped to make an easy conquest of Khorasan while the Ghuznee forces were beyond the Indus. He had miscalculated; and on the sultan's arrival, was obliged, after a signal defeat, to recross the Oxus with only a few attendants. On this occasion the sultan's victory was greatly aided by 500 elephants which he had brought from India. The Tartar horses would not face them; and the soldiers, who had never seen them before, were overawed by their huge bulk and strange appearance, especially after they had seen the one on which the sultan himself was mounted seize Elik Khan's standard-bearer and toss him into the air with his trunk.

Anangpal's escape was only temporary, for Mahmood was no sooner rid of the Tartar invader than he hastened back to India at the head of a formidable army. Anangpal meanwhile, anticipating the return of the sultan, had made exertions, and succeeded in forming a powerful coalition of rajahs against the common enemy of their freedom and their faith. Their united forces brought into the Punjab a larger army than had ever been seen in it before. Even the sultan seemed to hesitate; and instead of advancing with the headlong courage which he usually displayed, began to entrench himself in the vicinity of Peshawer. This sign of weakness added greatly to the strength of the confederates, who were daily joined by new auxiliaries, and received large supplies of money from all quarters, even the Hindoo women selling their jewels and melting down the gold of their other ornaments to assist in what was regarded as a holy war.

Mahmood kept within his entrenchments, well aware that if they were attacked, his position would give him a decided advantage; and that if the Indians, through fear of this, refrained from attacking, their immense tumultuary force could not be long kept together. The first skirmishes were not to his advantage, for the Gukkurs, and other mountaineer tribes, rushing impetuously among the Mahometan cavalry, made such dexterous use of their swords and knives that horse and riders tumbled to the ground, and, to the number of several thousands, were despatched in a twinkling.¹ Mahmood still remained motionless,

A.D. 1005.

Coalition of
rajahs.Defeat of
Anangpal.

¹ The Gukkurs, Guckers, Gakkars, Guikkars, or Kakkars (for the name is spelled in all these different ways, and not always in the same way by the same author), are first mentioned in the history of the Arab conquests in India, as forming a league with the Afghans, and, in union with them, wresting a tract of territory from the Rajah of Lahore. Their exploit

mentioned in the text seems to indicate that, as their mode of warfare bore a considerable resemblance to that for which the Ghoras of Nepal have recently distinguished themselves, they may have had a common origin. This, however, is improbable, as their localities are very remote from each other. The Gukkurs, according to Elphinstone (*Cabul*, Introduction,

A.D. 1005. watching his opportunity. It came at last. Anangpal's elephant, galled by the arrows and frightened by the fireballs, turned round and hurried him off the field. The Hindoos, thinking themselves deserted by their general, slackened their resistance, and finally turned their backs. No time was given them to rally, and ere long 20,000 lay dead upon the field. The rest were so completely dispersed that Mahmood had nothing more to do than gather the fruits of his victory. The one most gratifying to his avaricious temper was the capture of the fortified temple of Nagarcote, situated on one of the lower ranges of the Himalaya. It owed its sanctity to a natural flame which issued from the ground; and, from the veneration in which it was held, as well as the strength of its position, was not only rich in votive offerings, but was the common depository of the wealth of the adjacent country. To assist in the recent struggle, its garrison had been withdrawn, and when Sultan Mahmood arrived before it, he was met only by a crowd of defenceless Brahmins clamorously imploring mercy. The inventory of its treasures was, according to Ferishta, 700,000 golden dinars, 700 maunds of gold and silver plate, 200 maunds of pure gold in ingots, 2000 maunds of unwrought silver, and 20 maunds of pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies. The value must have been fabulous, and justifies Ferishta's assertion, that it was greater than ever was collected before into any royal treasury.¹ The sultan, on his return to Ghuznee, gave a triumphal banquet, which was spread out on a spacious plain, and lasted three days. The spoils of India, exhibited on thrones of gold, and tables of gold and silver, made a display rivalling the utmost that has been told of Oriental wealth and

Temple of
Nagarcote.

Splendid
banquet.

vol. i. p. 100) "once possessed the whole country between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jailum), but have been driven out by the Sikhs." In his map, they are represented as occupying a considerable tract of the Punjab east of the town of Attock, in the direction of Cashmere. On his homeward journey he passed through their country, in consequence of a letter of invitation which he received from the sultan, accompanied by a vast quantity of grapes, which there grow wild. Shortly after passing Rawil Pindie, he made a circuit of about forty miles, and saw "the ruins of some Gueker towns destroyed by the Sikhs, and those of some others, still more ancient, which had suffered the same fate from the Musulmana." The only other information he gives respecting them is, that they "have still a high military reputation." Ferishta, in narrating the exploit of the Gukkurs in their encounter with Mahmood, says, that they "repulsed his light troops, and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs, with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahometan lines, when a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahometans in a few minutes were slain." Price, in his *Chronological Retrospect, or Memoirs of the Principal Events in Mahomedan History*, vol. ii. p. 284, while professedly borrowing from Ferishta, improves upon his narrative, apparently for the purpose of making it still more

graphic, and says, "In spite of the circumspection of Mahmood, and in the heat of the action, a body of 1000 Kahkars or Guikkars, bareheaded and barefooted, variously and strangely armed, passed the entrenchments on both flanks: and falling in with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded with the desperation of savages, and with their swords and knives, to cut down and maim both the horse and his rider, until almost in the twinkling of an eye, between 3000 and 4000 men had fallen victims to the rage of these infuriated maniacs." That they had the cunning and vindictiveness of savages will become apparent in the course of the narrative. from an assassination which some of them committed under singular circumstances; but that they were under regular government, and ruled by princes who occupied no mean place among their contemporaries, may be inferred from the fact that they were recognized by the title of sultan, and that the daughter of one of them was considered a fit match for the celebrated Jelal-u-din, son of the King of Kharism, and the only prince in whom Ghenghis Khan found a formidable opponent.—See Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 415-418.

¹ The value of the golden dinar is about 9s. sterling. The Indian maund weighs 80, and the Persian only 11 lbs. The latter seems to be the one which is here intended.

splendour. Mahmood forgot his avarice on the occasion; and while myriads of spectators were luxuriously feasted, splendid presents were bestowed on merit, and liberal alms given to the poor. A.D. 1010.

The beginning of the year 1010 was employed by Sultan Mahmood in the conquest of Ghor, situated among the branches of the Hindoo Koosh east of Herat, but before the year closed he is again found pursuing his conquests in India. For some succeeding years, his operations there were somewhat desultory and interrupted by an important expedition to Transoxiana, during which he extended his west frontier to the Caspian; but in 1017, determined no longer to confine himself to the Punjab, he set out at the head of an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, for the purpose of penetrating into the basin of the Ganges, and thus opening up a way into the very heart of Hindoostan. Marching from Peshawer, he kept close to the mountains till he passed the Jumna, and then turning suddenly south, made his unexpected appearance before Canouge. This great capital, the rajah of which, for some reason not well

Sultan Mahmood's conquests in India.



RUINS AT CANOUGE.—From Daniell's Oriental Scenery.

explained, took precedence of all the other Rajahs of Hindoostan, is acknowledged by all writers, Hindoo and Mahometan, to have been the largest and most magnificent of Indian cities, but it is unnecessary to give any description of it at present, as Mahmood, delighted with the abject submission of the rajah, who came out with his family and threw himself upon his mercy, left it uninjured, after a short stay of three days.¹ He next bent his steps towards Muttra, one of the most famous seats of Hindoo superstition. The treatment it experienced was very different from that of Canouge. During twenty days of plunder, Mahometan fanaticism and licentiousness had their full swing, and every kind of outrage on humanity was perpetrated. In the midst of these horrors, Mahmood, while struck with the magnificence of the buildings, divided his thoughts between them and the immense sums which it must have cost to erect them, and wrote to the governor of Ghuznee a letter, of which the following very characteristic

Muttra plundered.

¹ This once magnificent city has long since fallen | and once formed a place of retreat for desperadoes
to decay. Its ruins are now surrounded with jungle, | of all kinds.

A.D. 1022. passage has been preserved:—"Here there are a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of dinars; nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."¹ After leaving Muttra, Mahmood stormed several other towns, laid waste a large extent of country, and then returned to Ghuznee, with an incalculable amount of spoil and above 5000 captives.

First
permanent
Mahometan
garrison in
India.

Of the two next Indian expeditions of Sultan Mahmood, which took place respectively in 1022 and 1023, the second only is deserving of notice, because during it a Mahometan garrison was, for the first time, permanently stationed beyond the Indus. This unenviable distinction belongs to the city of Lahore, whose rajah, Jeipal II., the successor of Anangpal, after submitting to Mahmood and living for some time on friendly terms with him, was tempted in an evil hour to throw off his allegiance. The result, which might easily have been foreseen, was the loss of all his territories, which were forthwith annexed to Ghuznee.

Capture and
plunder of
Somnauth.

We have now arrived at Sultan Mahmood's last expedition to India. It is generally reckoned as his twelfth, and has made more noise than all the rest, though its political results were not important. Its destined goal was Somnauth, one of the most celebrated seats of Hindoo superstition, situated near the shore of the Arabian Sea, in the south of the peninsula of Gujerat. To this expedition, fanaticism and the love of plunder appear to have been the actuating motives. The way from Ghuznee to Somnauth lay for hundreds of miles through a parched sandy desert. The army, whose numbers are not stated, set out in September, 1024, and reached Mooltan in October. For transport, 20,000 camels had been provided; and as the soldiers had moreover been ordered to carry as large a supply as possible of provisions, water, and forage, the difficulties of the desert were surmounted without any serious disaster, and the expedition made its appearance in the cultivated country around Ajmeer. The Hindoos, though aware of the threatened attack upon their temple, had calculated on a different route, and were, in consequence, so totally unprepared for resistance, that their only safety was in flight. The usual devastation followed, and the city of Ajmeer was given up to plunder. Continuing his progress, Mahmood entered Gujerat, and arrived at Anhwara, its capital. He might easily have made himself master of it, for the rajah had fled; but he was intent on higher game, and refused to be turned aside from it. At length Somnauth was reached. It was situated on a peninsula, which a fortified isthmus connected with the mainland. Here he was met by a herald, who defied him in the name of the god, and menaced him with destruction. Mahmood only answered with a shower of arrows, and cleared the walls of defenders, who hastened to the idol to prostrate themselves before it and implore its help. Meantime the besiegers

¹ Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.

advanced, and had nearly effected an entrance, when the defenders returned and fought so furiously, that their enemies, unable to make good a footing, were forced to retire. The next day the attack was repeated, and assumed the form of a general assault, but the result was the same. The third day opened still more propitiously for the defenders, for several native chiefs having united their forces, had advanced to the rescue. The attack could not be continued till this new enemy was disposed of. The battle which ensued was furiously contested, and seemed at one time about to be decided in favour of the Hindoos by the sudden arrival of the Rajah of Anhulwara with a large body of fresh troops. The Mahometans, who had previously been unable to do more than maintain their ground, now began to waver, and a general route was imminent, when the sultan, recurring to a device which had succeeded with him on other occasions, prostrated himself in presence of his army, and then, as if confident that his prayer had been heard, leaped to his horse, raised the war cry, and rushed into the thickest of the fight. His troops, ashamed not to follow where such a master would lead, followed close upon his track, and bore down all before them. The critical moment was passed, and they had gained a complete victory. No further attempt was made to defend the temple, and the defenders, to the number of 4000, took to their boats. Mahmood, in the course of his plunderings, had seen the interior of many Hindoo temples, but the magnificence of Somnauth was so surpassing that it filled him with wonder. The interior, whose lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and glittering with precious stones, received its light, not from the sun, but from a lamp which was suspended in its centre by a golden chain. The real object of worship at Somnauth was simply a cylinder of stone, but Ferishta takes no notice of it, and says that the idol, 15 feet in height, but six of them sunk beneath the surface, stood opposite the entrance. Mahmood at once ordered its destruction, but hesitated when the Brahmins threw themselves at his feet imploring him to spare it, and offering an immense ransom. After a momentary pause, exclaiming that he would rather be known as a breaker than as a seller of idols, he struck the idol with his mace. His followers instantly followed up the blow, till the idol broke asunder. It was hollow, and disclosed diamonds and other jewels of immense value hidden within it. Mahmood was equally surprised and delighted. The treasure obtained far exceeded the amount of ransom which the priests had offered, and was regarded by him and his followers as a gift from the Prophet in return for the zeal which they had displayed in his cause.

A.D. 1024.

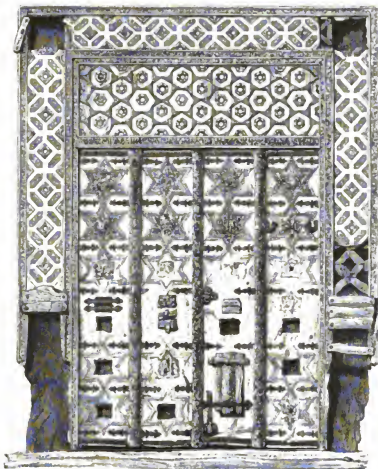
Somnauth taken.

Its celebrated temple

Tradition as to the gates of Somnauth.

Two pieces of the idol were sent to Mecca and Medina, and two to Ghuznee. One of the latter was in the palace and another at the grand mosque in the sixteenth century, when Ferishta wrote his history. It is somewhat remarkable that he says nothing of the gates of the temple, which, according to a prevalent tradition, were also carried to Ghuznee, and ultimately formed one of the

A D 1024. trophies placed on Sultan Mahmood's tomb. The silence of Ferishta throws considerable doubt on the authenticity of the tradition; for the gates should have been there in his time, and if there, he certainly would have mentioned them.



GATES OF SOMNAUTH.—From Hart's *Afghan Scenery*.

Be this as it may, the tradition was so firmly believed, that when the British army finally quitted Cabool, in 1842, the gates were brought away in triumph, and Lord Ellenborough, then Governor-general of India, made them the subject of a very pompous, unchristian, and impolitic proclamation.¹

Mahmood, on his return, stopped for some time at Anhulwara, with which, as well as the surrounding country, he was so much pleased that he is said to have had some thoughts of adopting it as a new capital. Many other magnificent projects passed through

Sultan Mahmood's projects.

his mind, but they all vanished in smoke, and he contented himself with setting up a new rajah in Gujerat. The person selected was an anchorer of the ancient royal stock, and seems to have recommended himself to Mahmood as the person most likely to yield him implicit submission. Another member of the royal stock thought himself better entitled to the rajahship, and, to prevent a disputed succession, his person was secured. When Mahmood was leaving Gujerat, the anchorer rajah requested that his competitor might be delivered up to him; and, on the assurance that his life would be spared, the request was granted. The hypocrite kept his promise to the ear. He was too holy a man to be guilty of shedding the blood of any living creature. He only dug a hole, in which he meant to have immured his prisoner, and regaled

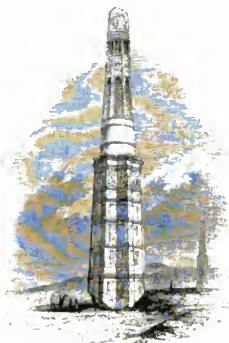
¹ Fergusson, in his *Hand-Book of Architecture*, says that these gates are not of sandal wood, but of the wood of the deodar pine tree; therefore the tradition of their having been the gates of the temple at Somnauth is wrong. The decorations

bear no resemblance to Hindoo work; and as the ornaments are similar to those of the mosque of Ebn Touloun at Cairo, they show the same date of construction, and that the like ornamentation was used at the extreme ends of the Moslem empire.

his ear with his groans. By a whirl of fortune the position of the parties was reversed; and the anchoret, deposed from his rajahship, was consigned to the hole, while the throne was occupied by his intended victim. A D 1059.

Though Mahmood had made his first passage across the desert without loss, he was less fortunate in returning. He had employed Hindoo guides, who kept the army wandering for three days and nights over desolate tracts, where neither forage nor water could be found. Numbers of the troops died raving mad, from the intolerable heat and thirst. Mahmood, suspecting that the guides had not erred, but led him wilfully astray, put one of them to the torture, and wrung from him a confession that he was one of the priests of Somnauth, and had sought, by misleading the army, to insure its destruction, and thereby obtain a rich revenge. Passage of the desert.

On the homeward march, Mahmood was greatly harassed by a tribe of Juts, who are described as occupying a district intersected by rivers, which form numerous islands. He determined to chastise them; and with this view took up a position at Mooltan, where he ordered 1400 boats to be built, and armed with iron spikes projecting from the bows and sides, to secure them against being boarded, as the Juts were particularly dexterous at this species of warfare. A series of naval engagements were fought in the neighbourhood of the locality where Alexander equipped his fleet thirteen centuries before. After a desperate struggle the Juts were overpowered, and those who had not fallen in battle were carried off into slavery.



MAHMOOD'S PILLARS, GHUZNEE.¹

Mahmood returned in triumph to Ghuznee, but had ceased to be capable of enjoying it, for he was suffering under an excruciating disease, which carried him off, April 29, 1030, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. Two days before his death, he ordered all the gold and precious stones which he possessed to be placed before him. He wept with regret to think how soon he must part with them for ever; but he had not the heart to

¹ The two minars or pillars outside the city of Ghuznee were erected, as appears from inscriptions in Kufic characters upon them, the one nearest the village of Rozah by Mahmood, the other (nearest Ghuznee) by Masood, son of Mahmood. The inscription on Mahmood's pillar is as follows:—"In the name of God the most merciful—the high and mighty Sultan, the melic of Islam, the right arm of the state,

trustee of the faith, the victory crowned, the patron of Moslems, the aid of the destitute, the munificence endowed Mahmood (may God glorify his testimony), son of Sabaktegen, the champion of champions, the emir of Moslems, ordered the construction of this lofty of loftiest of monuments; and of a certainty it has been happily and prosperously completed."—*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1843.

A.D. 1030

bestow any of them as farewell presents, and simply caused them to be taken back to the treasury. The next day he ordered a review of the army, and, seated on his travelling throne, saw all his elephants, camels, horses, and chariots pass before him. He feasted his eyes, but could not satisfy his heart, and once more burst into tears. The day after, he lay on his bed a lifeless corpse, and an impressive example of the vanity of human wishes.

Mahmud's
character.

Avarice, which was one of his ruling passions, is generally supposed to be incompatible with true greatness; and yet it is impossible to deny that Sultan Mahmood, the founder of the Mahometan Indian empire, possessed in a high degree many of the qualities which have procured for other sovereigns the name of Great. He gained signal victories, made conquests, and by the ability of his government retained them, adorned his capital with magnificent buildings, and kept a splendid court, to which he attracted many of the most distinguished writers of his time. He must thus have been a munificent patron of literature and art, though one of the greatest blots on his reputation was his treatment of Ferdusi. That celebrated poet



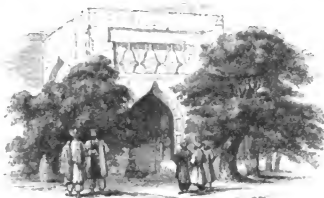
GOLD AND SILVER COINS OF MAHMOOD.¹

His treat-
ment on
Ferdusi.

long lived at his court, and was commissioned to write a poem, for which he was promised at the rate of a dinar a line. There can be no doubt that a golden dinar was understood; but Mahmood, on making payment, had the meanness to take advantage of the ambiguity in the term, and gave only silver. Ferdusi quitted the court in disgust, and took his revenge by launching at its sovereign a stinging satire. Mahmood was magnanimous enough not

only to forgive him, but to endeavour to make amends for the past, by sending him a rich present. It was, unfortunately, too late, for while Mahmood's messenger entered at one door, Ferdusi was being carried out on his bier at another.

Mahmood does not figure as a legislator, but several anecdotes are told, which show that he had a high sense of justice, and occasion-



EXTERIOR OF SULTAN MAHMOOD'S TOMB.—Hart's Afghan Scenery.

ally made great sacrifices of personal feeling in administering it. One of these anecdotes will bear repetition. An inhabitant of Ghuznee, unhappy in a hand-

¹ Gold coin of Mahmood—weight, 76·8 grains. | med, the apostle of God whom he sent with instruc-
A.H. 385, British Museum. On reverse, "Maho- | tion and the true faith, that he might exalt it above

some wife, complained to the king that one of his courtiers, who had conceived a passion for her, took forcible possession of his house every night, and turned him into the street, where he was obliged to remain till the intruder chose to take his departure. He had sought redress from the proper judges, and failed to obtain it. The sultan, indignant, ordered the man to say nothing, but to hasten back to him the first time the gross outrage was repeated. He had not long to wait. The sultan, on

A.D. 1030.

Summary
Justice.

being informed, wrapped a loose cloak about him, and was conducted to the house. On entering the chamber he found the guilty parties asleep. A light was burning. He extinguished it; and then, going up to the bed, cut off the adulterer's head at a stroke. This done, he called for a light, and on examining the features of the adulterer, threw himself prostrate on the ground, and gave utterance to his joy in thanks-



INTERIOR OF SULTAN MAHMOOD'S TOMB.—Hart's Afghan Scenery.

giving. The audacious manner in which the offence was committed had convinced him that the offender must be one of his sons, or near relatives. He had extinguished the light lest natural affection might stay his hand from doing justice; and now that it was done, he was rejoiced to find that his suspicions were unfounded, and that he had not been under the necessity of staining his hands with the blood of one of the members of his own family.

Sultan Mahmood left a will appointing his son Mahomed his successor. Another son, Musaood, Mahomed's twin brother, but born some hours later, conceived he had as good a title. Both sons were absent at the time of their father's death, but Mahomed, on his arrival in Ghuznee, was crowned. Musaood, however, was the favourite both of soldiers and people, and the household troops marched off in a body to join him. A large force, headed by an Indian chief, and composed principally of Hindoo cavalry, was sent in pursuit, but in the encounter which took place, the king's party was defeated. Meanwhile Musaood was hastening on to assert his claim, and was met by the household troops at Nishapoor. Before actually appealing to arms, he offered to divide the empire,

Musaood
succeeds.

all other creeds, even though unbelievers be adverse thereto" (*Koran*, Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9). On the obverse, "Dominion both past and future is of God, and in that day the Faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord" (*Koran*, Surah xxx. 4, 5).—Silver coin of Mahmood—weight, 50 grains.—*On the Coins of the Kings of Ghuzni*, by Edward Thomas. Lon. 1848.

¹ The inscription, in Kufic characters, on the sarcophagus of Mahmood's tomb is to the following effect:—"May there be forgiveness of God, upon him who is the great lord, the noble Nizam-ud-din Abul Casim Mahmood, the son of Sebektegin. May God have mercy upon him."—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1843.

A. D. 1036. by retaining merely the portions which he had himself conquered. The only condition he added was, that in the Khootba, or public prayer for the sovereign, his name should be read first within his own dominions. Mahomed refused to consent; and a civil war broke out, which terminated in his overthrow and capture. According to the barbarous practice of the times, he was deprived of sight, and imprisoned. Musaoood mounted the throne. He was remarkable for personal strength. Ferishta says (vol. i. p. 98), that "his arrow, after piercing the strongest mail, penetrated the hide of an elephant; and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand." He was also distinguished by valour and liberality, and not unfrequently offended his father by his bold and independent bearing.

Musaoood's
personal
qualities.

The transactions of Musaoood's reign are not important. Of those relating to India, with which here we have alone to do, the first deserving of notice is an expedition to that country in 1033. He took the route for Soorsooty, situated among the hills of Cashmere, and on arriving at it, summoned the garrison. It offered to submit, and he was disposed to grant easy terms, till he learned that some Mahometan merchants had been seized, and were then captives in the fort. Enraged at the information, he caused the ditch to be filled up with sugar-canes from the adjoining plantations, planted scaling ladders, and took the place by storm. The garrison to a man were put to the sword, and all the women and children were enslaved.

New palace
at Ghuznee.

In 1036, when a new palace was finished at Ghuznee, containing a golden throne, studded with jewels, and surmounted with a canopy, in which was a golden crown, seventy maunds in weight, suspended by a golden chain, and glistening with jewels, Musaoood again set out for India, mainly with the view of reducing the fort of Hansi, the ancient capital of Sewalik. The Indians believed it impregnable; and were confirmed in this belief by their soothsayers, who assured them that it was not destined ever to fall into Mahometan hands. The result falsified their predictions, for in the course of six days it was taken by storm. The treasure found in it was immense. Musaoood next proceeded to Sonput, which he found abandoned. Leaving an officer in charge of it, he retraced his steps, taking possession of all the countries he had left in his rear, and arrived at Lahore, the government of which he conferred on his son Modood.

Defeat by
the Seljuks
under Toghrul
Beg.

Musaoood on his return found full occupation in repelling the Seljuks, who, after passing to the left bank of the Jaxartes, and residing for some time in Transoxiana, had settled and acquired considerable influence in Khorasan. While they professed the utmost submission to his authority, they were constantly warring with his lieutenants and ravaging his territories. At length, in 1039, Toghrul Beg, a celebrated Seljuk warrior, mustered so strongly, that Musaoood found it necessary to take the field in person. The decisive battle was fought at Zendecan, near Merv, and ended, in consequence of the desertion

of his Turkish followers, in Musaood's complete defeat. After endeavouring to collect the wreck of his army, he returned to Ghuznee. Here new troubles awaited him; and, unable to repress the mutinous spirit of his troops, he began to look to India as a place of refuge, and finally withdrew to it in the hope of being able to retrieve his affairs. Anarchy now reigned uncontrolled in his capital. No sooner had he crossed the Indus than his own guards attempted to plunder the treasury; a general insurrection of the army immediately followed, and Musaood, being formally deposed, his brother Mahomed, whom he had kept in prison, was restored. A sovereign deprived of sight was totally unfitted to rule in such troublous times, and he devolved the administration on his son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put Musaood to death in 1040. A.D. 1114.

Modood, son of Musaood, had, as we have seen, been appointed governor of Lahore, but was at Balkh when his father was murdered. Without losing a moment he hastened east with his army, and crushed his rivals. Ghuznee still lay open to the inroads of the Seljuks, but these formidable intruders had turned their attention more to the west, and Modood, who had married Toghrul Beg's grand-daughter, both maintained himself in Ghuznee and recovered Transoxiana. In India advantage was taken of his absence; and the Rajah of Delhi, working on the feelings of the Hindoos, roused them to unwonted exertions. At the head of a powerful army he recovered Nagarcote, overran great part of the Punjab, and laid siege to Lahore, which, however, made good its defence. Modood, meanwhile, was unable personally to interfere; and died in 1049, without again visiting India. Modood succeeds

He left an infant son, who was murdered by his uncle Abul Hassan. A series of usurpations, usually effected by great crimes, now took place, and no name of note occurs till 1098, when Musaood II. ascended the throne. During the sixteen years of his reign, which ended with his death in 1114, he distinguished himself more as a legislator than a warrior, though his generals carried his arms beyond the Ganges. For some years his court resided at Lahore. Musaood II.

On the death of Musaood II., another usurpation took place in the person of his son Arslan, who, to secure the throne, imprisoned his brothers. The unnatural act did not avail him; and he was, in his turn, deposed by Behram, the only brother who had escaped imprisonment. Behram's reign, which lasted thirty-four years, was not more long than brilliant, and he might have transmitted his power unimpaired, had he not been guilty of a crime which brought its punishment along with it, and led to the extinction of the Ghuznee dynasty. It will be necessary to go back a few years in order to explain the circumstances. Behram's reign.

The territory of Ghor, situated, as has already been mentioned, among the northern ramifications of the Hindoo Koosh, is regarded by the Afghans as their original seat. At a comparatively early period it was invaded by the Arabs, and a large portion of its inhabitants embraced Mahometanism. When the Arab dynasties were overthrown, it resumed its independence, and pre-

A. D. 1148. served it even while Sultan Mahmood was extending his conquests on every side. Two generations after, it was treacherously seized by Modood, and became a dependency of Ghuznee. It was still, however, governed by its own princes, who lived almost on terms of equality with the Sultans of Ghuznee. One of these princes, called Kutb-u-din Sur, had married a daughter of Sultan Behram. This affinity might have been supposed to bring the houses of Ghuznee and Ghor into the most friendly relations. It turned out otherwise. Differences arose; and Behram, having obtained possession of the person of his son-in-law, sullied the reputation which he had acquired for justice and humanity by poisoning him, or putting him to an open death. Kutb-u-din Sur had two brothers, Seif-u-din and Ala-u-din. They at once flew to arms to avenge his death; and, advancing upon Ghuznee, obliged Behram to seek an asylum among the mountains of Kerman.

Behram's
treachery to
the house
of Ghor.

His
expulsion.

Seif-u-din, the elder brother, established himself in Ghuznee, and sent back most of his army, under Ala-u-din, to Feruz Coh, his former capital. He thought he had gained the affections of the inhabitants, and only learned his mistake when it was too late to remedy it. A strong attachment was still felt to the dynasty to which Ghuznee owed all its prosperity and its splendour; and, as soon as the winter had set in so severely as to prevent all communication with Ghor, Behram made his appearance at the head of an army. Seif-u-din, totally unprepared, was about to retire, when treacherous promises of support from the inhabitants induced him to march out and risk a battle. It was no sooner commenced than the greater part of his troops passed over to his enemy. For a time he was able, by the aid of a small body of his own people who remained stanch, to maintain an unequal contest, but was at length wounded, overpowered, and taken prisoner. Behram, instead of availing himself of the opportunity to wipe off the stain which he had brought on his reputation by the murder of the eldest brother, acted still more atrociously. Seif-u-din, after being ignominiously paraded round the city, and subjected to every species of indignity, was put to death by torture.

His
defeat by
Ala-u-din.

Ala-u-din, the third brother, still remained, and set out burning for vengeance. In his eagerness, his preparations were imperfect; and Behram, either in insult or because the blood already shed had satiated him, made an offer of peace. It was indignantly rejected, and the battle immediately began to rage. Behram's superiority of numbers made the issue for some time doubtful, but at last, when left almost alone, he turned his back and fled from the field.

Extinction
of Ghuzna
vide dynasty

The victor immediately advanced on Ghuznee, which could offer no resistance. Its doom was sealed. For three or seven days (for accounts vary) fire and sword continued the work of destruction, and all the proud monuments which attested the power, wealth, and splendour of the Ghuznavide kings were laid in ruins. Behram hastened to seek an asylum in India, but died before he had found it. His son Khosru was more fortunate, and reached Lahore, where

he was received with acclamations, and fixed the seat of his government. He reigned till 1160, and was succeeded by his son Khosru Melik, at whose death, in 1186, the last wreck of the Ghuznavide empire passed to the house of Ghor, and the Ghuznavide dynasty became extinct. A.D. 1178.

The two last reigns have anticipated the course of the narrative. In order to resume it, it is necessary to return to Ala-u-din, and trace the history of the house of Ghor through him and his successors.

After the signal vengeance taken for the murder of his two brothers, Ala-u-din acted as if the heroic part of his life had been played out; and, retiring to the old Ghorite capital of Feruz Koh, he followed his natural bent by giving himself up to pleasure. He found it even more perilous than war would have been, for the Seljuks, under Sultan Sanjar, during an invasion of Ghor and Ghuznee, made him prisoner. He was soon, however, set at liberty, and reinstated in his dominions, which he held for four years, till his death in 1156. Shortly before, he had imprisoned his two nephews, Gheias-u-din and Shahab-u-din, with the view of securing the succession to Seif-u-din, his son; but this young prince set them at liberty, and replaced them in their governments. His confidence was not misplaced, but he had reigned little more than a year when he fell by the hand of an assassin. He was succeeded, in 1157, by the above cousins, who ruled jointly and, contrary to the general rule in such cases, harmoniously. Gheias-u-din superintended the territories in the west—Shahab-u-din gave his attention to the east; and, from consolidating the Mahometan power there, has sometimes been thought to have a better title even than Sultan Mahmood, to be regarded as the true founder of the Mahometan empire in India. Ala-u-din succeeded by Gheias-u-din.

In 1176, he took the town of Ooch, situated at the point where the rivers of the Punjab, united into one stream under the name of the Punjnad, join the left bank of the Indus. In 1178 he undertook an expedition to Gujerat, but it proved disastrous. His next expedition, after he had marched twice to Lahore, and obliged Khosru Melik, the last of the Ghuznavides, to submit to a disadvantageous treaty, and give his son as a hostage, was to Scinde. Having completely overrun it, he once more attacked Khosru Melik. This prince, assuming the courage of despair, made an alliance with the Gukkurs, and opened the campaign with the capture of one of his enemy's strongest forts. Shahab-u-din, under the pretext that he was about to march for Khorasan, where affairs had assumed an alarming appearance, increased his army, and at the same time made overtures of peace to Khosru Melik, sending back his son, whom he held as a hostage, in proof of his sincerity. The stratagem succeeded. Khosru Melik, thrown completely off his guard, set out to welcome his returning son, and was surprised by Shahab-u-din, who surrounded his camp with a strong body of cavalry, and took him prisoner. The last of the Ghuznavides and his family were sent to Gheias-u-din, who imprisoned them in a castle. Here, after a long confinement, they were all put to death. Exploits of Shahab-u-din.

A.D. 1191.

Shahab-u-din, being thus left in India without a Mahometan rival, determined to extend his conquests. It is probable he did not anticipate much difficulty, as his army, drawn from the warlike province of the west, must have been considered more than a match for any that the Hindoos could oppose to it. The struggle, however, was severe. Several of the Indian rajahs successfully maintained their ground, while few of them yielded without a manful resistance.

Hindoo
struggle
for inde-
pendence.

In this war of independence the Rajpoots particularly distinguished themselves. Belonging to the military class in the original Hindoo system, they were born soldiers, and lived under a kind of military feudal system, not unlike that of the clans in the Highlands of Scotland and some other countries. While each chief had his hereditary territory, all the chiefs held under the rajah as their common head, and were thus in the position most favourable for united action and individual exertion. At the same time they laboured under some disadvantages. Living almost secluded, they had a simplicity of manners little fitted to protect them against political wiles, and an indolence and love of freedom which made it difficult to keep them under regular discipline.

Dissensions
among the
rajahs.

Near the time of Shahab-u-din,¹ Hindoostan was mainly composed of four leading sovereignties—Delhi, Canouge, Ajmeer, and Callinjer. On a failure of heirs in the third, the heir-apparent of the first had been adopted, and thus Delhi and Ajmeer were united under one head. This arrangement had given great offence to the Rajah of Callinjer, who thought he ought to have been preferred in the adoption; and thus, when cordial union among the rajahs constituted their only safety, considerable dissension prevailed. The disunion, thus dangerous to them, was most opportune for Shahab-u-din, who, taking advantage of it, made his first attack on the newly amalgamated, but by no means firmly cemented rajahships of Delhi and Ajmeer. It commenced in 1191, with the capture of Batinda. He placed a garrison in it; but had scarcely left when he learned that the Rajah of Delhi, at the head of a powerful confederation, was advancing against it with an army of 200,000 horse and 3000 elephants. In retracing his steps to relieve the garrison, he was met by the enemy on the banks of the Soorsooty, about eighty miles from Delhi. He immediately joined battle, but with forces so inferior that both wings, being outflanked, bent backwards till they met in the rear, and gave his army the form of a circle. While standing within its centre, affairs looked so desperate that he was advised to provide for his safety. This so enraged him that he cut down the messenger sent with the advice, and rushed into the enemy's lines, making terrible slaughter. The Rajah of Delhi, observing where he smote, drove his elephant right against him; but Shahab saw his intention in time to frustrate it, and struck a blow with his lance which knocked out a

Their vic-
tory over
Shahab-u-
din.

¹ Ferishta gives his full name as Moiz-u-din of Mahomed Ghoomy, not as joint sovereign, but Mahomed Ghoomy, and speaks of him under the name only as the general of Ghias-u-din.

number of his teeth. The rajah returned the thrust by letting fly an arrow, which pierced Shahab's right arm. He was on the point of falling, when one of his faithful attendants leaped up behind him and bore him off the field, which his army had now almost wholly deserted. Having recovered of his wound at Lahore, he returned to Ghor, and disgraced the officers to whose desertion he attributed his discomfiture, compelling them to walk round the city with horses' mouth-bags, filled with barley, about their necks.

After a year, spent partly in pleasure and festivity, and partly in preparation for a new campaign, Shahab set out from Ghuznee at the head of 120,000 chosen horse, and took the road to India without disclosing his intentions. At Peshawer an aged sage, prostrating himself before him, said—"O king, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject of much speculation among us." Shahab replied—"Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in Hindoostan I have never slumbered in ease, nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety; I have, therefore, determined with this army to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the attempt."

Shahab's
thirst for
vengeance.

On arriving at Lahore, he sent an ambassador to Ajmeer, offering, as the only alternative, war or conversion. The rajah returned an indignant answer,

Now
struggle



AJMEER, from near the Gogra Pass.¹—From Dixon's Sketch of Malwara.

and immediately applied for succour to all the neighbouring princes. It was readily granted; and an army equal to that which had recently given them the victory again encamped on the same field. In this army were 150 Rajpoot princes, "who had sworn by the water of the Ganges that they would conquer their enemies or die martyrs to their faith." While the camps were separated

¹ Ajmeer was occasionally the residence of the emperor, Jehangeer, who was here visited, in 1616, by Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador. In 1818 it was ceded to the British, and was then in a ruinous state, from which, however, it soon recovered,

and is now one of the handsomest cities in British India. On the summit of the hill, in the back ground, stands a fortress, named Taraghur, nearly two miles in circumference, capable of containing 1200 men, but fast going to decay.—*Imperial Gazetteer*.

A.D. 1195. by the Soorsooty, the Indian princes sent a message to Shahab, warning him of his fate if he persisted, but at the same time offering to allow him to retreat in safety. He was so humble in his answer that they at once attributed it to fear, and, in the midst of their joy, gave themselves up to revelry. Shahab, in anticipation of the effect which his message would produce, prepared for a surprise; and, by the early dawn, having forded the river, was in the camp of the Indians before they had the least notice of his approach. Notwithstanding the confusion, they managed to bring their line into tolerable order, and had continued the contest till near sunset, when Shahab, placing himself at the head of 12,000 chosen horsemen, covered with steel armour, made a furious charge, which carried the day. The Indians were panic-struck, and the Mahometans had nothing to do but slaughter them. Many rajahs fell on the field; the Rajah of Delhi and Ajmeer was taken prisoner, and afterwards put to death in cold blood. The immediate results of the victory were the surrender of the forts Soorsooty, Samana, Koram, and Hansi, and the capture of Ajmeer, where all in arms were put to the sword, and the rest reserved for slavery.

Hindoo
defeat.

Exploits
of Eibuk.

Shahab next turned his arms towards Delhi, but was propitiated by presents. On his return to Ghuznee, he marched north to the Sewalik Mountains, plundering and destroying wherever he went. After he had reached home, Eibuk, the officer whom he had left with a strong detachment in Koram, took the fort of Meerut and the city of Delhi. In the latter, in 1193, he fixed the seat of his government, and compelled the surrounding districts to embrace Mahometanism. We shall afterwards see him make a prominent figure in Indian affairs.

The restless spirit of Shahab would not allow him to remain long at Ghuznee, and he is soon again found in India. His proceedings were not unimportant, but the personal share which he had in them is almost lost sight of in consequence of the prominence given to Eibuk, whom he had now made Viceroy of India, and to whom his future military achievements in this country are mainly ascribed. During this visit to his Indian dominions, he defeated the Rajah of Canouge and Benares, took the fort of Asny, where the rajah had laid up his treasure; and afterwards, entering the city of Benares, broke the idols in more than a thousand temples. After his return to Ghuznee, laden with spoil, his conquests and victories were continued by Eibuk, who, in 1194, defeated and slew the Rajah of Hemraj, and took revenge in the capital of Gujerat for the defeat which his master had there sustained.

His defeat
in Rajpootana.

In 1195 Shahab, returning once more to Hindoostan, took Byana, and sent the new governor whom he appointed against Gwalior, which yielded only after a long siege. The following year is chiefly remarkable for a defeat which Eibuk sustained in Rajpootana—a defeat so severe that he was compelled to shut himself up in the fort of Ajmeer. Having again recruited his strength

he assumed the offensive, reduced the capital of Gujerat, with all its dependencies, and took the forts of Callinjer, Kalpi, and Budroon. A.D. 1205.

During these events, Shahab received intelligence of the death of his brother Gheias-u-din, and returned to Ghuznee, where he was crowned sole sovereign. When he attained this additional elevation, his good fortune seemed to forsake him. During a struggle with the King of Kharism, he sustained a defeat which cost him the loss of all his elephants and treasure, and so complete an annihilation of a noble army that he was left with scarcely a hundred men. On escaping from the field of battle, he shut himself up in a fort, but had no means of sustaining a siege, and was not suffered to return to his dominions till he had paid a large ransom to the Khan of Samarcand. On arriving at Ghuznee, he found it in possession of one of his own officers, who would not allow him to enter; and he was, in consequence, obliged to continue his route to Mooltan. Having here been reinforced, he returned to Ghuznee, and regained possession. Meanwhile, the Gukkurs had been laying waste the country around Lahore. They continued to ravage with impunity, for Shahab's disasters left him without the means of chastising them, till a treaty which he had concluded with the King of Kharism left him fully at leisure to bring all his forces into the field against them. He accordingly again set out for India, and placed the Gukkurs between two fires, engaging them on the west, while Eibuk marched against them from the east. Lahore, which had fallen into their hands, was rescued, and their plundering hordes were entirely dispersed. It would seem, however, that they, not long after, again collected in great numbers at the foot of the mountains of Sewalik, carried on an exterminating war against the Mahometans, on whom they exercised unheard-of cruelties, and cut off the communication between the provinces of Peshawer and Mooltan. Their incursions continued till their king, who had been made captive, consented to embrace Mahometanism. On being sent home, he had so much influence with his people, that many of them, to whom religion appears to have been very much a matter of indifference, were easily induced to adopt his new creed. Many others, not so easily persuaded, yielded to force, and Islamism became the prevailing religion of the mountaineers both east and west of the Indus. Shahab defeated by the King of Kharism.

Ravages of the Gukkurs.

The affairs of India being settled, Shahab, in the end of 1205, set out from Lahore to return to Ghuznee. He was meditating an expedition beyond the Oxus, and had given orders to throw a bridge across it, and collect an army on its banks. Meanwhile he had only advanced on his homeward journey as far as the Indus. A body of twenty Gukkurs, who had lost some of their relatives during the war, and had entered into a conspiracy to avenge their death by assassinating him, had been tracking his footsteps, and watching their opportunity. Owing to the excessive heat, he had ordered the screens which surrounded the royal tents in the form of a square to be struck, in order to Assassination of Shahab-u-din.

A.D. 1206. obtain a freer circulation of air. The Gukkur conspirators had thus obtained a view of the interior so far as to know the position of Shahab's private apartment. In the dead of the night they crept stealthily up to the tent door. He was asleep, fanned by two slaves, and before any alarm could be given they had done the bloody deed so effectually, that his lifeless body lay pierced with twenty-two wounds.

Disputed
succession.

This tragical termination of Shahab's eventful life took place on the 14th of March, 1206. His reign, including that of the joint sovereignty with his brother, lasted thirty-two years. The succession was disputed. The chiefs of Ghor claimed it for Baha-u-din, who was Shahab's cousin, and had been appointed by him governor of Bamian; the vizier and officers of the Turkish mercenaries supported the claim of Shahab's nephew, the son of his brother Gheias-u-din. The claimants, however, had comparatively little interest in the decision, for Shahab's death was the signal for internal commotions, which were shortly followed by the dismemberment of his dominions. His nephew Mahmood was indeed proclaimed king, and held a nominal supremacy; but the real power was in the hands of two individuals—Eldoz at Ghuznee, and Eibuk, or, as he is often called, Kutb-u-din, in India. It is with the latter that we have now to do; for under him India, dis severed from the governments beyond the Indus, assumed the form of a distinct and independent kingdom. As the first heads of this kingdom were originally slaves, their dynasty is known as that of the Slave Kings.

Eldoz and
Eibuk.

CHAPTER III.

Medieval India continued.—The Slave Kings—Eibuk or Kutb-u-din—Altamah—Sultana Rezia—Mogul irruptions into India—Gheias-u-din Bulbun—House of Khilji Jelal u-din—Proceedings in the Deccan—House of Toghlaq—House of Lodi.



IBUK had been carried off in infancy, and was brought to Nishapoor, where a wealthy citizen purchased him, and spent some pains on his education. On the citizen's death, he was sold to a merchant, who presented him to Shahab-u-din. With the prince he became so great a favourite that he was taken into his confidence, and lived with him as a friend. His fidelity and military talents made him at once his royal master's most trusted and most successful general, and he was ultimately dignified with the title of Viceroy of India. In this character, he fixed his government at Delhi, which thus began the course of prosperity which it was destined to run under Mahometan rule. The longer,

Eibuk or
Kutb-u-din.

and by far the more brilliant part of Eibuk's career was finished before he became independent, for he afterwards reigned only four years, and died in 1210. He had displayed considerable tact in strengthening his position by affinity. He himself married the daughter of Eldoz, who ruled supreme in Ghuznee; his sister he gave in marriage to Nasir-u-din Kubachi, who held a delegated sovereignty in Scinde; and his daughter he gave in marriage to Altamsh, who, though purchased with his money, held the first place in his esteem, and possessed talents which ultimately made him his successor.

A.D. 1210.
Married the
daughter of
Eldoz.

Eibuk's affinity with Eldoz did not produce the cordiality which might have been anticipated. They not only quarrelled, but proceeded to open war, and carried it on with a virulence which brought each of them alternately to the brink of ruin. Nasir-u-din never thought of disputing Eibuk's authority; and so long as his brother-in-law lived, was perfectly satisfied with a delegated sovereignty. He was not disposed, however, to yield the same deference to Altamsh, and made himself independent ruler of Mooltan and Scinde.



KUTB MINAR, DELHI.¹—After Daniell.

Shortly after Altamsh had secured his position as Eibuk's successor, the whole of Asia was thrown into consternation by the appearance of Ghenghis Khan.² Originally a petty Mogul chief, he had become the acknowledged sovereign of all Tartary, and, at burst through its mountain passes of Kharism, at whom the first the treachery and barbarity of murdering the ambassadors of Ghenghis; and the penalty was not more than the crime, when he fled to die broken-hearted on a solitary island of the

Altamsh his
successor.



¹ The Kutb Minar is a column of victory, built by Kutb-u-din, to celebrate his conquest of the Hindoos. It is 48 feet 4 inches diameter at the base, and when measured in 1794, was 242 feet in height. The base,

which is circular, forms a polygon of 27 sides, and there are four balconies running round the pillar.

² Silver coin of Ghenghis Khan; weight, 47 grains. From Thomas's *Coins of the Kings of Ghuzni*.

A D 1236.

Appearance
of Ghenghis
Khan.

Caspian. His son Jelal-u-din bore up more manfully; but victory after victory seemed to have no power either to intimidate or weaken his fearful adversary, and he only saved himself by swimming the Indus, while the enemy's arrows showered thick around him. The Moguls threatening to cross the river in pursuit, he continued his flight to Delhi. Altamsh, to whom he here applied for an asylum, feared to expose himself to Mogul vengeance, and gave an answer with which Jelal-u-din was so dissatisfied, that he made a party for himself, and, in alliance with the Gukkurs, roamed the country, plundering and devastating, and even making himself master of Scinde, while Nasir-u-din Kubachi was glad to take refuge in Mooltan. To all appearance he might have made good his footing, if he had not been lured away by a brighter prospect, which seemed opening in Persia. Before he quitted Scinde a detachment of the Mogul army crossed the Indus, and commenced their barbarous warfare; but want of provisions compelled them to depart, after slaughtering 10,000 Indian prisoners. Nasir-u-din, who had repulsed the Mogul detachment when it laid siege to Mooltan, was less fortunate when he was attacked a second time by Altamsh. After retreating to Bukkur, he had, with the view of proceeding to Scinde, embarked with all his family on the Indus, when a sudden squall upset the boat, and all on board perished. This tragical event happened in 1225.

Altamsh was thus rid of a formidable competitor, and obtained a large accession of territory. Another competitor, however, remained, in the person of Bakhtiar Khilji, the governor of Behar and Bengal. He had been mainly instrumental in conquering these provinces; and though he was contented to hold them under Eibuk, one of whose sisters he had married, he had no idea of acknowledging any supremacy in Altamsh. The latter, after persuasion failed, had recourse to force, and Bakhtiar was not only worsted, but lost his life.

Delhi the
capital of a
Mahometan
empire.

Altamsh, throned in his capital at Delhi, now swayed his sceptre over all the territories which the Mahometans had conquered in India. They were large enough and rich enough to satisfy any reasonable ambition, but he was still bent on conquests, which, being wholly his own, might form the most solid basis of his fame. Six years, from 1226 to 1232, were spent in executing these ambitious schemes; and in the end, after the conquest of Malwah, with its famous capital Oojein, had been completed, all Hindoostan proper, with a few isolated and unimportant exceptions, did homage to Altamsh. The additional greatness thus conferred on him was not enjoyed long, for he died four years after, in April, 1236. It may be mentioned, as a proof of the anxiety which the Mahometans of India still felt to keep up their connection with the central authority of Islamism in the west, that Altamsh, in the course of his reign, received his investiture from the Caliph of Bagdad.

Rukn-
u-din's
unworthy
reign

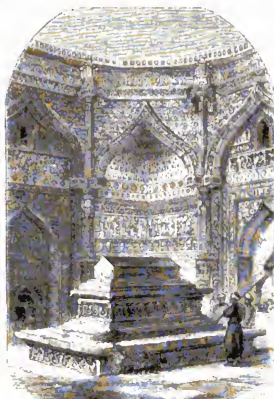
Rukn-u-din, the son and successor of Altamsh, was a very unworthy representative of his talents. While his court was thronged with musicians, dancing-women, and buffoons, he was too indolent and effeminate to support the

A.D. 1238.

cares of government, and devolved them on his mother, who was ambitious enough to undertake the task, but performed it so capriciously and tyrannically, that a rebellion broke out, and, at the end of seven months, Rukn-u-din was deposed to make way for his sister, who assumed the title of Sultana Rezia. She was not new to government, for her father, when absent on his campaigns, intrusted her with the administration in preference to his sons. According to Ferishta, "Rezia Begum was endowed with every princely virtue; and those who scrutinize her actions most severely, will find in her no fault but that she was a woman."

The circumstances under which she assumed the government were difficult. The two most powerful parties in the state were cordially united in deposing her brother, but only one of them concurred in her elevation. The malcontent faction, headed by the vizier of the two previous reigns, at once appealed to the sword, and, appearing before Delhi, defeated an army which was advancing to its relief. But though Rezia was weak in arms, she was powerful in intrigue,

and succeeded so well in sowing dissensions, that the confederacy formed against her melted away of its own accord. Equal skill and success marked her internal administration. Seated daily on her throne, she was accessible to all, gave a patient ear to complaints, redressed grievances, reformed abuses, and dispensed justice firmly and impartially. Unfortunately, she had one failing which affected her reputation, and lowered her in the estimation of her subjects. She showed a strong and undisguised favour for her master of the horse, whom, though originally an Abyssinian slave, she raised above all her other nobility, by appointing him commander-in-chief. It does not seem that her honour was compromised; for the utmost said against her in this respect is, that she allowed him to lift her up when she mounted on horseback. It was enough, however, to excite a rebellion, and make it successful. After a short struggle, the Abyssinian was murdered, and Sultana Rezia was deposed. She was confided to the charge of a Turki chief called Altunia, who had been the leader in the rebellion. Here her blandishments again availed her, and she so won upon Altunia that he fell desperately in love with her, married her, and attempted to restore her to the throne. At the head of an army, she advanced to Delhi, fought two



INTERIOR OF THE TOMB OF ALTAMSH.
From Lunn's Views in India.

Her skill in government.

A. D. 1259. bloody battles, lost them, and was taken prisoner with her husband. Both were put to death. She had reigned three years and a half.

Moiz-u-din
Behram
succeeds
Rezäa.

In 1239, when Rezäa was deposed, her brother Moiz-u-din Behram was placed on the throne. He was altogether unworthy of it; and endeavoured to rid himself of the importunities of those to whom he owed his elevation, by treachery and assassination. He was imprisoned and put to death after he had reigned little more than two years. The only event of importance in his reign was an irruption of the Moguls into the Punjab. Another reign, equally short and worthless, followed. The ruler was Ala-u-din Musaood, a son of Rukn-u-din. His crimes were soon terminated by a violent death. During his reign two irruptions of the Moguls took place; the one into the north-west, and the other by a route which they had not previously attempted—through Thibet into Bengal.

Reign of
Nasir-u-din
Mahmood.

Nasir-u-din Mahmood, grandson of Altamsh, after a short interval, was raised to the throne in 1246. He was of retired and studious habits, and rid himself of the cares of government by devolving them on his vizier Gheias-u-din Bulbun. The Moguls were now the great enemies to be feared. The provinces of Herat, Balkh, Kandahar, Cabool, and Ghuznee were in their possession; and as India was constantly threatened by them, it was necessary to keep up a standing army along the frontier. Several of the earlier years of this reign were employed in suppressing disturbances which had arisen, chiefly in Mooltan and the Punjab generally. The events of the latter years are, generally, unimportant. In 1259, the Rajpoots of Meerut, having risen in insurrection, the Vizier Bulbun led an army against them; and, having obliged them to take refuge among the mountainous districts, continued for four months to ravage the country by fire and sword. The barbarities thus committed, however, made the Rajpoots desperate, and they rushed down with all their forces into the plain, attacking the Mahometans so suddenly and fiercely that Bulbun had great difficulty in keeping his men together. Superior discipline finally prevailed, and the Rajpoots were driven back to their fastnesses with great slaughter. Above 10,000 fell on the field; 200 chiefs, taken prisoners, were put to death; and the great body of their followers were condemned to slavery. Shortly before this formidable outbreak, an ambassador arrived at Delhi from Hoolakoo, King of Persia, and grandson of Ghenghis Khan. On his approach, the vizier went out in state to meet him, with a train of 50,000 foreign horse, then in the service of the Delhi government, 2000 elephants, and 3000 carriages of fireworks. What these last were is uncertain. They may have been merely for display, but more probably consisted of the Greek fire, with which the Mahometans, even of the far east, were then well acquainted. A series of reviews and sham fights were performed; and the ambassador was then led through the city to the palace, where everything was arranged for his reception in the most gorgeous style. Among those who graced the ceremony, and stood next the throne,

Embassy
from the
King of
Persia.

were many tributary Indian princes. There were present, also, no fewer than twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajemi, Khorasan, and Transoxiana, who had sought protection at Delhi from the devastating hordes of Ghenghis Khan. A.D. 1266.

Nasir-u-din died of a lingering disease in 1266, after a reign of twenty years. Habits of
Nasir u-din. He makes little figure on the page of history; and was, both by nature and habit, far better adapted for a private than for a public station. Though of royal parentage, he had acquired parsimonious habits, and lived in the utmost simplicity. When imprisoned in early life, he maintained himself by the labours of his pen; and, when seated on the throne, he made it his daily practice to write as much as would suffice to purchase his food. Ferishta's account of his domestic arrangements is curious:—"Contrary to the custom of other princes, he kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery. When she complained one day, that she had burned her fingers in baking his bread, and desired he would allow a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, saying that he was only a trustee for the state, and was determined not to burden it with needless expenses. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her on the day of judgment."

Gheias-u-din Bulbun, usually called by European writers Balin, had long been virtual, and on his master's death, became actual sovereign. Bulbun
succeeds. He was the son of a powerful Turki chief, but, when a youth, had been carried off by the Moguls and sold to a merchant, who took him to Bagdad. Here he was bought by an inhabitant of Bussorah, who, on learning that he belonged to the same tribe as Altamsh, took him to Delhi, when that monarch paid for him so liberally that his previous master returned with an independent fortune.

His first employment was as falconer, because he was particularly skilful in the art of hawking; but, by the influence of a brother, whom he found living in high favour at court, he obtained a higher position and became a noble. His early
career. In the reign of Rukn-u-din, he commanded in the Punjab. On receiving an order to return, he refused to place himself in the power of that worthless tyrant, who, he learned, had a design upon his life. He therefore took the only alternative that remained, and declared himself independent. When the Sultana Rezia mounted the throne, he joined the confederacy which marched to Delhi to depose her, and was taken prisoner. After a time he effected his escape, and became a leading supporter of Behram, during whose reign he held the government of Hansi and Rewaree, and distinguished himself in suppressing the insurrections in Meerut. In the reign of Ala-u-din Musaood, he held the office of Ameer Hajib; and at last, as has been seen, exercised all the powers of sovereign, though nominally only the vizier of Nasir-u-din.

Bulbun began his reign with some acts of what he deemed necessary severity; His patron-
age of
literature. and having thus made his position secure, acquired a high reputation for justice and wisdom. He was a liberal rewarder of merit, and a rigid corrector of crime; but he seems to have attached more importance to birth than might have been

A.D. 1266. expected in so wise a man; and, in particular, made a rule never to appoint any Hindoo to a place of trust and power. His patronage of literature brought some of the most distinguished writers of the period to his court, which, if we may credit Ferishta, was the most polite and magnificent in the world. His example found many imitators in the capital; and, while a society of learned men met at the house of a prince called Khan Shaheed, another society, of a more miscellaneous but not less attractive description, as it consisted of musicians, dancers, actors, and kissagoes or story-tellers, met at the house of the king's second son. Various other societies, for similar purposes, were formed in every quarter of Delhi. Not merely the literary tastes of the king, but his love of show was sedulously imitated; and splendid palaces, equipages, and liveries became quite a rage among the courtiers.

Bulbun's
love of
pomp.

Ferishta warms as he describes the pomp and state with which the monarch surrounded himself, and proceeds as follows:—"So imposing were the ceremonies of introduction to the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without a mixture of awe and admiration. Nor was Gheias-u-din Bulbun less splendid in his processions. His state elephants were covered with purple and gold trappings. His horse-guards, consisting of 1000 Tartars, appeared in glittering armour, mounted on the finest steeds of Persia and Arabia, with silver bits, and housings of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen foot, in rich liveries, with drawn swords, preceded him, proclaiming his approach and clearing the way. His nobles followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants."

His zeal for
temperance.

It is not unworthy of notice, that Bulbun took a very marked interest in what is now known as the temperance cause. An officer of rank, son of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, and governor of the province of Budaoon, had, while in a state of drunkenness, slain one of his personal dependants, and, on the complaint of the widow, was sent for, tried, and beaten to death in presence of the whole court. Another high officer, the governor of Oude, who had been guilty of the same crime under the influence of intoxication, received a public whipping of 500 lashes, and was given over as a slave to the widow of the man he had killed. These are not to be regarded as solitary instances of rigid justice, but rather part of a general system adopted for the purpose of putting down drunkenness. In the following statement of Ferishta, there is something very like an enactment of the Maine-law:—"Gheias-u-din Bulbun in his youth was addicted to the use of wine, but on his accession to the throne he became a great enemy to the luxury, prohibiting the use and manufacture of fermented liquors throughout his dominions, under the severest penalties."

Fits of
economy

Though fond of splendour, and by no means niggardly, Bulbun seems sometimes to have been seized with fits of economy. During one of these, he caused a list of all the veterans who had served in the preceding reigns to be made out, and settled half-pay, with exemption from active duty, on all who were reported

as worn out. The arrangement, though one which the most enlightened states of modern times have adopted, gave great dissatisfaction; and the veterans induced a magistrate of Delhi, venerable for years and character, and high in favour, to represent their case to the king. He accordingly went the next day to court, and, while standing in the presence, put on a face of great dejection. The king observing it, inquired the cause: "I was just thinking," replied the magistrate, "that if, in the presence of God, all the old men were rejected, what would become of me." The device succeeded, and the veterans were again placed on full pay.

In the year 1270 the king's nephew, Sheer Khan, died. He was governor of Lahore, Mooltan, Sirhind, Batinda, &c., and all the districts exposed to Mogul incursions. These restless depredators immediately made their appearance. It seems that several of the subordinate governors were in league with them; and owing to this cause, as well as to mutual jealousies and dissensions in other quarters, the Moguls made such head that Bulbun was obliged to appoint his eldest son, Prince Mahmood, viceroy of the frontier provinces. At the same time he caused him to be proclaimed his successor.

A. D. 1279.

Sheer Khan dies.

The Moguls had hitherto been the only enemy against whom it was thought necessary to provide, but in 1279 a formidable insurrection broke out in a different quarter. During a serious illness, which led to a rumour that Bulbun had died, Toghrul Khan, the governor of Bengal, who had been guilty of some irregularities, for which he feared he might be called to account, not only revolted, but, assuming the scarlet canopy along with other insignia of royalty, declared himself King of Bengal. Bulbun immediately gave the government of Bengal to the governor of Oude, Aluptujeen, entitled Ameer Khan, and surnamed the Hairy. At the same time, he sent several generals with a large army to his assistance. Aluptujeen, thus reinforced, crossed the Gogra, and Toghrul Khan advanced to meet him. This he did with the more confidence, because he was aware that many of the Turki chiefs in Aluptujeen's army had been gained by his largesses. The consequence was that the royal army sustained a total overthrow. When the news reached Bulbun, he bit his own flesh with vexation, hung Aluptujeen at the gate of Oude, and sent Mullik Tirmuny Toork with another army against the rebel. Not more successful than his predecessor, he was defeated, lost all his baggage, and with it the public treasure.

Insurrection in Bengal by Toghrul Khan.

Bulbun now set out in person, crossed the Ganges without waiting for the dry season, and proceeded to Bengal by forced marches. The state of the river and roads, however, occasioned so much delay, that Toghrul Khan had time to collect a large army, though it did not seem to have been large enough to justify the risk of an encounter in the open field. He therefore evacuated Bengal with all his elephants, treasure, and effects; intending to keep out of sight till the king should return to his capital. This scheme he followed out with so much dexterity, that Bulbun, following close upon the route which he was understood

Bulbun's campaign in Bengal.

A. D. 1279. to have taken, could not obtain a trace of him for several days. At last Mullik Mookudur, the governor of Kole, being out with a small reconnoitring party, saw some bullocks with pack-saddles. The drivers were seized, but in answer to all inquiries, obstinately pretended ignorance, till the head of one of them was struck off, when the rest fell on their faces and confessed that they had just left Toghrul Khan's camp, which was four miles farther on. Mullik going forward climbed a rising ground, from which he saw the whole encampment spread over a plain, with the elephants and cavalry picketted, and everything in apparent security. Having fixed his eye on Toghrul's tents, situated near the centre of the camp, he determined on a very daring enterprise. Advancing with the forty men he had with him at full speed, he was allowed to enter the camp, because it was never doubted that he belonged to it. He made directly for head-quarters, and ordering his men to draw their swords, rushed into the tent of audience, shouting "Victory to Sultan Bulbun!"

Bold
exploit.

Toghrul
Khan slain.

Toghrul thought he had been surprised by the royal army, and leaped from his throne to make way to the rear. Finding a horse without a saddle, he mounted it, and fled in the direction of the river. Mullik, having caught sight of him, pursued, and shot him with an arrow while he was in the act of swimming the stream. Toghrul fell from his horse, and was seized by Mullik, who dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head, leaving the body to be carried down the stream. He had just time to hide the head in the sand when some of Toghrul's people came up. They found Mullik bathing, and never suspecting how matters stood, left him after asking a few questions. The confusion produced by the supposed surprise spread into a general panic, and the whole camp dispersed, every one thinking only of his own safety. Mullik ever after bore the surname of Toghrul Koosh, or the Slayer of Toghrul.

Bulbun arrived next day, and finding that no enemy remained, returned to execute vengeance on the rebel's family, every member of which he put to death. Before returning from this expedition, on which he is said to have spent three years, he appointed his son, Khurra Khan, King of Bengal, and gave him all the spoils of Toghrul, except the elephants and treasure, which he removed to Delhi. As soon as Prince Mahmood heard of his father's arrival, he hastened from Mooltan to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection. The two were almost inseparable; but they had not been three months together when an event occurred which was to part them for ever. The Moguls had invaded Mooltan. The prince made all haste to oppose them, and Bulbun, now on the borders of eighty, bitterly felt the pang of separation. His presentiment probably was that he himself was about to be gathered to his fathers, and that the prince would survive him. Accordingly he spent much of the last interview in counselling him as to the conduct he should pursue when on the throne. The counsels were wise, and the prince, who had given great promise, would doubtless have acted upon them if the succession had opened to him. It was

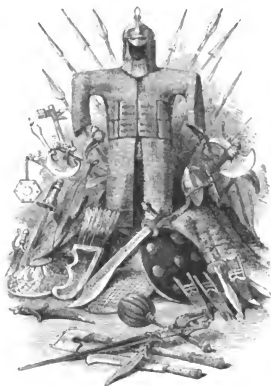
Invasion of
Mooltan by
the Moguls.

otherwise determined. As soon as the prince arrived in Mooltan, he attacked the Moguls, recovered all the territories which they had seized, and expelled them with great slaughter. These Moguls were subjects of Timour Khan, of the house of Ghenghis Khan; and though not unknown to fame, a very different person from the still more famous Timour or Tamerlane, who did not make his appearance till a century after. The present Timour ruled the eastern provinces of Persia, from Khorasan to the Indus, and with the view of avenging the expulsion of his Moguls, appeared next year in Hindoostan, at the head of 20,000 chosen horse. After ravaging the country around Lahore, he advanced

Oct.
A.D. 1285.

Defeat of the
Moguls.

in the direction of Mooltan. Prince Mahmood hastened to meet him. A river lay between them, and might easily have been converted into an inseparable barrier against the further progress of the Moguls, but the prince disdained to avail himself of this advantage, and left the passage free. After Timour had crossed, the armies drew up and a great battle was fought. Both leaders distinguished themselves; but after contesting the victory for three hours, the Moguls were obliged to flee, and the Indians followed hotly in pursuit. Prince Mahmood, worn out with fatigue, halted on the banks of a stream to quench his thirst. He had only 500 attendants, and was spied by a Mogul chief, who lay concealed in an adjoining wood with 2000 horse. The prince had barely time to mount before the Moguls were upon him. With his small band he thrice heroically repulsed his assailants; but at last, overpowered by numbers, he fell mortally wounded, and almost instantly expired. His troops, who had gone in pursuit of the flying enemy, on returning with the shouts of victory, found their prince weltering in his blood. The voice of triumph was immediately turned to wailing, and every eye was in tears. The dismal news broke the old king's heart, and he only lingered on, wishing for death to release him.



GROUP OF INDIAN ARMOUR.¹

When he found his end approaching, he recalled his son, Khurra Khan, from Bengal, and nominated him his successor. He only stipulated that he should appoint a deputy in Bengal, and remain with him at Delhi till his death.

Death of
Bulbin.

¹The suits of mail are in the Meyrick Collection at Goodrich Court, as also the battle-axe, pincush, and khanjar in the foreground. The rest of the

weapons are from Langles, *Monumens Anciens et Modernes de l'Hindoustan*, taken from an ancient MS. of the Ayeen Akbery.

A D. 1286. This event not happening so soon as Khurra Khan expected, he was unnatural enough to become impatient, and depart for Bengal without announcing his intention. Bulbun, both grieved and indignant, sent for his grandson, Kei Khosru, Prince Mahmood's son, from Mooltan, settled the succession on him, and a few days after, expired, in 1286. He had reigned with great success for twenty-one years. Though all the officers of the court had sworn to give effect to Bulbun's will, no sooner was he dead than the chief magistrate of Delhi, who had always been at variance with Kei Khosru's father, exerted his influence against the young prince with such effect, that he was set aside to make way for his cousin, Keikobad, the son of Khurra Khan. Kei Khosru, glad to escape with his life, returned to his government.

Death of
Bulbun.

Keikobad
succeeds.

Keikobad, on mounting the throne in his eighteenth year, assumed the title of Moiz-u-din. He was remarkably handsome in person, affable in his manners, mild in temper, of a literary taste, and well informed. Unfortunately he became too soon his own master; and on breaking loose from the tight rein which his father had kept upon him, he passed to the opposite extreme, and became a debauchee. His example was soon followed by his courtiers, and once more, to borrow the description of Ferishta, "every shady grove was filled with women and parties of pleasure, and every street rung with riot and tumult; even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and music was heard in every house." At Kelookery, on the banks of the Jumna, he fitted up a palace where he might revel undisturbed amidst his only companions—singers, players, musicians, and buffoons.

Nizam-
u-din's
treacherous
designs.

Nizam-u-din, the chief secretary of Keikobad, seeing how completely his master was engrossed by pleasure, conceived the idea of usurping the throne; and having no scruples as to the means, began by endeavouring to remove what he conceived to be the greatest obstacle. This was Kei Khosru, who had gone to Ghuznee, and solicited Timour Khan, the Mogul viceroy, to aid him with troops for the purpose of driving Keikobad from the throne, which, by the will of his grandfather Bulbun, belonged of right to himself. He failed in the attempt, but returned, notwithstanding, to his government. Either thinking that his attempt was unknown, or hoping that it had been forgiven, he was enticed to pay a visit to Delhi, and before he reached it, was waylaid and murdered by the hired assassins of Nizam-u-din. The next part of the plot was to procure the disgrace of Keikobad's vizier, and cut off all the old servants of the late King Bulbun. They disappeared one after another by some kind of mysterious agency, and a general feeling of dismay was produced. Nizam-u-din, the real instigator, though not the actual perpetrator of the murders, was not even suspected.

Though the Moguls on the other side of the Indus were constantly crossing it, and making predatory incursions into India, it is a remarkable fact that vast numbers of their countrymen had voluntarily enlisted in the army of Delhi as

soldiers of fortune, and were even understood to have done good and faithful service. Nizam-u-din, anxious to get quit of the Mogul mercenaries—who, he feared, might refuse to be the instruments of his designs—took advantage of a recent Mogul incursion, to persuade Keikobad that it was impolitic to retain them, as in the event of a general invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen. It was therefore resolved to get quit of them by any means, however atrocious. The plan adopted was to assemble the Mogul chiefs, and massacre them by the guards. Even all other officers who had any connection with them were first imprisoned, and then sent off to distant garrisons. While Nizam-u-din was thus clearing away all real or imaginary obstacles, his wife was equally busy in the seraglio, and had all its inmates at her devotion.

A.D. 1287.

Massacre of
the Mogul
mercen-
aries.

Khurra Khan, Keikobad's father, who had hitherto been contented with Bengal, hearing of the state of affairs at Delhi, wrote to warn his son of his danger. No attention was paid to his advice; and Khurra Khan, seeing the crisis approaching, determined to anticipate it, by marching with a large army upon Delhi. Keikobad advanced with a still larger army to oppose his progress. The father, feeling his inferiority, proposed negotiation, but the son assumed a haughty tone, and would appeal to nothing but the sword. Before matters were allowed to come to this extremity, Khurra Khan made a last effort, and wrote a letter in the most tender and affectionate terms, begging he might be blessed with one sight of his son. Keikobad was melted, and a reconciliation took place, the ultimate effect of which was, that Nizam-u-din saw all his treacherous designs frustrated, and was shortly after cut off by poison.

Interview of
Keikobad
with his
father,
Khurra
Khan.

For a time Keikobad seemed about to reform; but he had no decision of character, and his old habits returning, new factions were formed, and a kind of anarchy prevailed. To increase the confusion, his dissipation undermined his constitution, and he became paralytic. Every noble now began to intrigue for power, and two great parties were formed—the one headed by a Khilji of the name of Mullik Jelal-u-din Feroze, and the other by two high court officers, who, more loyally disposed, wished to secure the crown to Keikobad's only son, Prince Keiomoor, an infant of three years of age. The Khiljies, almost to a man,



KHILJI CHIEFTAIN AND WOMAN.—FROM HART'S
Afghan Sonnerie.

¹ The Khiljies were in former times by far the most celebrated of the Afghans; and though now
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holding only the second rank among the races of their country, they still fondly cherish a remembrance of

A.D. 1288. took part with their countryman; the Moguls were equally unanimous in favour of the prince, whom they carried off from the harem, for the purpose of seating him upon the throne. It was not yet vacant, for Keikobad, though on a sick-bed, might continue for a time to linger on. This was a state of uncertainty which the contending parties could not endure; and after mutual attempts at assassination, the emissaries of Jelal-u-din, having forced their way into the palace of Kelookery, where they found Keikobad lying in a dying state, deserted by all his attendants, they beat out his brains with bludgeons, rolled up the body in the bed-clothes, and threw it out of the window into the river. The young prince was shortly after put to death; and Jelal-u-din having been proclaimed king, became the founder of the Khilji dynasty. This revolution happened in 1288.

Keikobad's death.

Jelal-u-din succeeds.

Jelal-u-din Feroze had reached the age of seventy when he usurped the throne. The footsteps to it he had stained with blood, but after he was seated, either remorse or policy induced him to become humane. Having no great confidence in the people of Delhi, he fixed his residence at Kelookery, which he fortified, and also adorned with fine gardens and terraced walls along the river. Numerous other buildings rapidly sprung up; and Kelookery, having thus assumed the appearance of a city, was known for a time by the name of New Delhi. The year after Jelal-u-din's usurpation, a competitor for the crown appeared in the person of Mullik Juhoo, one of the late Bulbun's nephews, instigated chiefly by Ameer Ally, governor of Oude. After an obstinate engagement, Juhoo was defeated, and Ameer Ally and several other leaders were taken prisoners. They were immediately sent off to Kelookery; but Jelal-u-din, as soon as he saw them, ordered them to be unbound, and gave them a free pardon, while quoting a verse of which the purport is—"Evil for evil is easily returned, but he only is great who returns good for evil." The Khilji chiefs could not understand this humanity, which they condemned as at variance with sound policy. "At all events," they observed, "the rebels should be deprived of sight, to deter them from further mischief, and as an example to others. If this was not done, treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire." The king answered, "What you say is certainly according to the ordinary rules of policy; but, my friends, I am now old, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding more blood."

His humane sentiments and mistaken lenity

It is refreshing to be able to turn aside from the massacres which we have in the course of the narrative been compelled to witness, and listen to sentiments partaking so much of the spirit of Christianity. It seems, however, that the Khiljies were not altogether wrong, for the king's lenity was often mistaken,

their former greatness, ere the Dorauneo dynasty succeeded in wresting from them the sovereignty. In the beginning of last century this tribe alone conquered all Persia. After a hard struggle, the third Khilji King of Persia was expelled by Nadir Shah. The territory occupied by them is situated in

the north of Afghanistan, and forms a parallelogram of about 180 miles in length, by 85 miles in breadth. It is comprised more especially in the valley of the Cabool River, from its source to the town of Jelalabad, and also in the valleys which descend from the Hindoo Koosh.

and the hope of impunity produced numerous disorders. "The streets and highways," says Ferishta, "were infested by thieves and banditti. House-breaking, robbery, murder, and every species of crime was committed by many who adopted them as a means of subsistence. Insurrections prevailed in every province; numerous gangs of freebooters interrupted commerce, and even common intercourse. Add to this, the king's governors neglected to render any account either of their revenues or their administration."

A.D. 1291.

Crime, thus encouraged, did not stop short of treason, and two plots were formed against the king's life. One, in which some Khilji chiefs were the conspirators, was no sooner detected than forgiven; the other, which was headed by a celebrated dervish, called Siddy Mollah, was visited more severely. This dervish, originally from Persia, after visiting various countries in the west, arrived at Delhi, where his reputation for sanctity, joined to the liberality of his alms, made him a great favourite, especially with the populace, who were constantly crowded around his gates. For a time he appeared to have no higher aspiration than popularity; but at last, ambition took possession of his soul, and an intriguer, to whom he had given his confidence, persuaded him that the people looked on him as sent from God to deliver the kingdom from Khilji misrule, and bless Hindoostan with a wise and just government.

Conspiracies
against his
life.

The throne having thus become his object, he determined to take the nearest road to it, and sent two of his followers to assassinate the king as he was proceeding to the public mosque. One of the two, however, was seized with remorse, and disclosed the plot. Siddy Mollah and his confidential intriguer were apprehended; but as they persisted in their innocence, and no witness appeared against them, it was determined to have recourse to the fiery ordeal, that they might purge themselves of their guilt. Everything was ready, and the accused having said their prayers, were about to plunge into the fire, when Jelal-u-din, who had come to witness the ceremony, stopped them, and turning to his ministers, put the question, "Is it lawful to try Mussulmans by the fiery ordeal?" They unanimously answered that the practice was heathenish, and contrary to the Mahometan law as well as to reason, inasmuch as it was the nature of fire to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked. Siddy Mollah was ordered to prison, but was barbarously murdered before he reached it. This murder was associated in the minds of the populace with a series of public calamities which ensued, and particularly with two—the one a dreadful famine in the course of the same year (1291), and the other a Mogul invasion in the year following.

Proposed
trial by fire.

The invading force, headed by a kinsman of Hoolakoo Khan, Ghenghis Khan's grandson, consisted of 100,000 horse. Jelal-u-din collected his army, and advanced against them. For five days the armies lay in sight of each other, with a stream between them. On the sixth morning, as if by mutual consent, they drew up on an extensive plain, to fight a pitched battle. After an

Mogul
invasion
repelled.

A.D. 1293. obstinate conflict, the Moguls were defeated. It is probable that the victory was not decisive, for Jelal-u-din gave the Moguls free permission to withdraw from his dominions, and exchanged presents with them in token of amity. On this occasion, Oghloo Khan, a grandson of Ghenghis Khan, aware that he had little chance of rising among the numerous relations of that warrior who were still alive, induced 3000 of his countrymen to remain in the service of Jelal-u-din, who gave him his daughter in marriage.

Invasion of
the Deccan
by Ala-
u-din.

In 1293 Ala-u-din, the king's nephew, who had previously been governor of Kurra, obtained in addition to it the government of Oude, and began to entertain schemes of conquest, with a view to ultimate independence. One of his expeditions is interesting as the first which the Mahometans made to the Deccan. It was directed against Ram Dew, Rajah of Dewghur or Dowletabad, who is described as possessing the wealth of a long line of kings. Ala-u-din, after reaching the Deccan frontier, pressed forward towards the capital. The rajah happened to be absent, and hastened home in great alarm. Having suddenly collected a force, composed chiefly of citizens and domestics, he encountered the Mahometans about four miles from the city; but, though he behaved gallantly, was easily repulsed, and driven back into the fort. Its ditch, which is now one of the most remarkable sights of the Deccan, the scarp being in many places 100 feet, excavated in the solid rock, was not then in existence, and the chief defence was a bare wall. The city was taken at once, and pillaged. Many of the inhabitants, after heavy contributions had been levied from them, were cruelly tortured for the discovery of their property. The fort still held out, but Ram Dew began to despond, as the Mahometans had given out that their present force was only the advanced guard of the King of Delhi's army. He therefore offered a large ransom, which Ala-u-din, who had begun to feel the difficulties of his position in the centre of a hostile country, was fain to accept.

The terms had just been concluded when Shunkul Dew, the rajah's eldest son, was seen advancing with a numerous army. His father sent a message to him, intimating that peace was concluded, and ordering him to desist from hostilities. The youth refused, and sent messengers to Ala-u-din with a letter, in which he said, "If you have any love for life, and desire safety, restore what you have plundered, and proceed quietly homeward, rejoicing at your happy escape." The Mahometan indignation was so roused that the messengers, after having their faces blackened with soot, were hooted out of the camp.

Defeat of the
Rajah of
Dowlet-
abad.

Ala-u-din immediately moved out to meet the approaching enemy, leaving only Mullik Noosroot, with 1000 horse, to invest the fort and prevent a sally. In the contest which ensued, the Mahometans were overpowered by numbers, and falling back on all sides, when the sudden arrival of Mullik Noosroot, who had left his station at the fort without orders, changed the fortune of the day. The Hindoos, supposing that the royal army, of which they had heard so much, was actually arrived, were seized with a panic, and fled in all

directions. Ala-u-din returned to the fort, the besiegers of which were now pressed for provisions, it having been ascertained that a great number of bags, supposed to contain grain, were filled with salt. Ram Dew was obliged to submit to any terms; and Ala-u-din, besides obtaining the cession of Ellichpoo and its dependencies, retired with an immense ransom. He had many difficulties to contend with, as his route lay through the hostile and powerful kingdoms of Malwah, Gundwana, and Candeish; but he surmounted them all, and arrived safely at Kurra, where, from the interruption of the communications, nothing had been heard of him for several months. A. D. 1295.

Jelal-u-din, on hearing of the immense booty which his nephew was bringing with him, was overjoyed, because he had no doubt that the greater part of it would go to enrich the royal treasury at Delhi. His more sagacious servants thought otherwise, and hinted that Ala-u-din had ultimate designs of a treasonable nature, and would use the booty as a means of accomplishing them. The king refused to entertain suspicions which might prove unfounded; and, on receiving a letter from his nephew, couched in the most submissive terms, felt only anxious to assure him of his continued favour. Jelal-u-din deceived by Ala-u-din's letter.

Meanwhile, the crisis was approaching. Partly by flattering letters from Kurra, and partly by the treacherous advice of counsellors at Delhi, the king was inveigled into the fatal resolution of paying a visit to his nephew in 1295. When the royal canopy appeared in sight, Ala-u-din drew out his troops under pretence of doing honour to his majesty, and sent his brother Almas Beg forward to arrange for his reception. Almas was deep in the plot, and artfully suggested that if the king advanced with a large retinue, Ala-u-din, who feared he had incurred the royal displeasure, might be alarmed. So plausible was the tongue of Almas Beg, that the king embarked in his own solitary barge with only a few select attendants, and, as if this had not been enough, ordered them to unbuckle their armour, and lay their swords aside. In this defenceless state, he reached the landing place, and ordered his attendants to halt, while he walked forward to meet his nephew, who advanced alone, and threw himself prostrate at his feet. The old king raised him up, embraced him, and, tapping him familiarly on the cheek, exclaimed, "How could you be suspicious of me, who have brought you up from your childhood, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring?" This kind-hearted appeal was answered by the nephew by a signal to his soldiers, one of whom made a cut with his sword, and wounded Jelal-u-din in the shoulder. He immediately ran to regain his barge, crying, "Ah! thou villain, Ala-u-din!" but, before he reached it, was overtaken by another of the soldiers, who threw him on the ground, and cut off his head, which was fixed on a spear, and carried in triumph through the camp. The wretch whose sword completed the bloody deed is said to have suffered a thousand deaths in imagination before he died. He became mad, and expired, screaming incessantly. Visits Ala-u-din.
is murdered.

A.D. 1296. that Jalal-u-din Feroze was cutting off his head. This reign is full of incident, but lasted only for the comparatively short period of seven years.

Ala-u-din
usurps the
throne.

When tidings of Jalal-u-din's murder reached Delhi, the queen-dowager, of her own accord, without consulting the chiefs, placed her youngest son, Prince Kuddur Khan, a mere boy, on the throne. The real heir was Arkally Khan, then governor of Mooltan. He had all the qualities of a king, but the queen's proceedings disconcerted him, and he resolved, in the meantime, to take no active steps to secure his right. Ala-u-din, when he atrociously murdered his uncle, aimed not at the throne of Delhi, but at the establishment of a new independent kingdom. However, on learning the state of matters, he began to entertain higher aspirations; and, in spite of the rainy season, set out at once for the capital. There was nothing to oppose his progress; and the queen-mother, with her son, having fled with the treasure to Mooltan, he made a triumphal entry into the city in the end of 1296.

Courts
popularity.

Ala-u-din began his reign with splendid shows and festivities, by which he dazzled the populace, and made them forget, or overlook, the enormity which had placed him on the throne. At the same time, he conciliated the great by titles, and the venal and avaricious by gifts. The army, also, having been gained by six months' pay, he turned his thoughts to the rival claimants in Mooltan, and sent thither his brother, Aluf Khan, at the head of 40,000 horse. The citizens, to save themselves, betrayed the princes, and delivered up Arkally Khan and Kuddur Khan, on an assurance that the lives of both would be spared. It is almost needless to say that the promise was not kept. While the princes were being conveyed to Delhi, a messenger arrived with orders from Ala-u-din, that they should be deprived of sight. After this barbarous deed was done, they were imprisoned in the fort of Hansi, and shortly after assassinated.

A Mogul
invasion
defeated.

In 1296, after Ala-u-din had finished the first year of his reign, the startling intelligence arrived that Ameer Dawood, King of Transoxiana, had prepared an army of 100,000 Moguls, with a design to conquer the Punjab and Scinde, and was actually on the way, carrying everything before him with fire and sword. Aluf Khan was sent against them; and, after a bloody conflict on the plains of Lahore, defeated them with the loss of 12,000 men. Some days after, the numerous prisoners, not excepting the women and children, found in the Mogul camp, were inhumanly butchered.

Reduction of
Gujarat.

In the beginning of the following year, Aluf Khan and the Vizier Noosroot Khan, were sent to reduce Gujarat. On their approach to the capital, the Rajah Ray Kurrin escaped into the territories of Ram Dew, Rajah of Dewghur, in the Deccan, but not without the capture of his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure. Noosroot Khan then proceeded with part of the army to Cambay, which, being a rich country full of merchants, yielded a prodigious booty. With this, the whole troops were returning to Delhi, when the two

generals, by demanding a fifth of the spoil in addition to the shares which they had already obtained, caused a wide-spread mutiny, especially among the Mogul mercenaries. Aluf Khan narrowly escaped with his life. His nephew, who was sleeping in his tent, was mistaken for him by the mutineers, and murdered. When the army reached Delhi, Ala-u-din gratified his passion by taking into his harem Kowla Devy, one of the captive wives of the Rajah of Gujerat, so celebrated for beauty, wit, and accomplishments, that she was styled the "Flower of India"—and his blood-thirsty revenge, by an indiscriminate massacre of all the families of those who had been concerned in the late mutiny. A. D. 1297.

About this time, another great invasion of the Moguls took place, under Kootloogh Khan, son of the Ameer Dawood, who had led the former expedition. Their army consisted of 200,000 horse, and contemplated nothing less than the entire conquest of Hindoostan. Kootloogh Khan, after crossing the Indus, proceeded direct for Delhi, and encamped, without opposition, on the banks of the Jumna. Zuffur Khan, the chief secretary and governor of the adjoining provinces, gradually retired as the Moguls advanced. The inhabitants, fleeing in dismay, crowded into the capital; and the supply of provisions being cut off, while the consumption was immensely increased, famine began to rage. Dismay and despair were painted on every countenance. In this emergency, Ala-u-din called a council of nobles, but, on finding them opposed to action, took his own way, and determined to attack the enemy. With this view, he marched out by the Budaoon gate with 300,000 horse and 2700 elephants, and, proceeding into the plains beyond the suburbs, drew up in order of battle. Here, too, Kootloogh Khan drew up to receive him. Two such armies had not mustered in Hindoostan since the Mahometans appeared in it. Mogul invasion under Kootloogh Khan.

The right wing of the Delhi army was commanded by Zuffur Khan, considered the greatest general of the age, and the left by Aluf Khan. Ala-u-din took post in the centre, with 12,000 volunteers, mostly of noble family, and headed by the vizier, Noosroot Khan. The choicest of the elephants occupied a line in front, and a body of chosen cavalry guarded the rear. Zuffur Khan began the battle by impetuously charging the enemy's left, which he bore away before him, breaking up the line by his elephants, and thus committing dreadful slaughter. The enemy's left flank, thus turned back, was driven upon his centre, and considerable confusion ensued. Ala-u-din, seeing this, ordered Aluf Khan to advance, but he, dissatisfied because the place of honour had been given to Zuffur Khan, of whose fame he was envious, meanly kept aloof, and left his rival to follow up his advantage as he could. This he did almost heedlessly, continuing the pursuit for many miles. A Mogul chief, whose *toman*, or division of 10,000 horse, had not been engaged, seeing Zuffur Khan unsupported, resolved to attack him; and, at the same time, sent information to Kootloogh Khan, who hastened forward with another *toman*. Zuffur Khan was consequently attacked in front and rear. Thus placed, he saw his danger; but as it was too Pitched battle.

A.D. 1299. late to retreat, he drew up his forces, in number not half those of the enemy, in two squadrons, and continued the unequal conflict. The leg of his horse having been cut through by a sabre, he fell to the ground, but rose instantly, seized a bow and quiver, and, being a dexterous archer, dealt death around him. Most of his soldiers were now slain or dispersed, and Kootloogh Khan—who, from admiration of his valour, would have saved him—called upon him to surrender, but he persisted in discharging his arrows, and refused quarter. On this, the Mogul attempted to take him alive, but it could not be done, and he was at last cut in pieces.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the Moguls did not venture to continue the contest; and, abandoning all hopes of success, evacuated India as fast as they could. Their departure was celebrated at Delhi with great rejoicing.

Ala-u-din's
projects.

Ala-u-din, in consequence of the success which had attended his arms, became so elated, that he began to entertain some extraordinary projects. One of them was to imitate Mahomet, and become, like him, the founder of a new religion; another, to leave a viceroy in India, and set out, in the manner of Alexander the Great, to conquer the world. While meditating such schemes, he was so illiterate, that he could neither read nor write. The only part which



SILVER COIN OF ALA-U-DIN. 1.—From Thomas's Coins of the Patan Sultans.

he executed, was to assume the title, and issue coinage impressed with the name of Alexander II. A more practicable course of action was adopted in 1299, when he resolved to attempt new conquests in India. With this view, he sent his brother, Aluf Khan, and the vizier, Noosroot Khan, on an expedition

against the Rajah of Runtunbhore, or Rintimbore, a strong fortress in the Rajpoot state of Jeypoor. Noosroot Khan, going too near to the wall, was killed by a stone thrown from an engine. The rajah, Humber Dew, immediately marched out from the fort, and, placing himself at the head of a large army, hastily collected, drove Aluf Khan back with great loss.

Attempts on
his life.

Ala-u-din, informed of the defeat, resolved to take the field in person. On the way, he one day engaged in hunting, and having wandered far from the camp, spent the night in a forest, with only a few attendants. Rukn Khan, his nephew and brother-in-law, tempted by the opportunity, thought he could not do better than gain the throne in the same way as Ala-u-din had done, by assassinating his predecessor. Accordingly, having communicated his design to some Moguls, on whose co-operation and fidelity he could rely, he rode up at sunrise to the place where the king was, and discharged a flight of arrows.

¹ Weight, 170 grs. On obverse—The most mighty sovereign, Ala-ud-dunia-wa-nd-din, Abul Muzafar Mahomed Shah, the Sultan. On reverse, area—Sekun-

der the second, right hand of the khalifat, supporter of the commander of the faithful. On margin—This silver (was) struck at the capital, Delhi, in the year 712.

Two of them took effect, and he fell, apparently dead. Rukn Khan drew his sword to cut off his head; but, as the deed seemed already effectually done, and time was precious, he desisted, and, hastening to the camp, was proclaimed king. A.D. 1299.

Ala-u-din's wounds were not mortal; and he was able, after they were bound up, to reach the camp, where, to the astonishment of all, he suddenly appeared on an eminence. Rukn Khan was holding his court when the astounding news reached him, and had only time to mount his horse and flee. A party sent in pursuit, speedily overtook him, and, returning with his head, laid it at the feet of the king, who shortly after continued his march to Rintimbore, and renewed the siege. The place was obstinately defended; and, after standing out a whole year, was only taken at last by stratagem. Humber Dew, his family, and the garrison were put to the sword. It seems that the rajah's minister had turned traitor, and gone over to the Mahometans with a strong party during the siege. He no doubt anticipated a splendid reward; but met the fate he deserved, when, with all his followers, he was ordered to execution. Ala-u-din justified the sentence by observing, that "those who have betrayed their natural sovereign will never be true to another."

Capture of
Rintimbore

Ala-u-din, alarmed at the frequency of conspiracies against his life, became anxious to adopt some effectual means of preventing their recurrence. With this view, he summoned his nobles, and commanded them to give their opinions without reserve. They spoke more freely than might have been expected; and mentioned, among other causes of treason, his own inattention to business, and the consequent difficulty of obtaining redress of grievances—the prevalence of intoxication—the power of aristocratical families in connection with the abuse of patronage—and the unequal division of property. The opinion thus given made a deep impression upon him, and he immediately began to act upon it, though in a manner which left as much room for censure as for approbation. He first applied himself to reform the administration of justice, and made strict inquiry into the private as well as public characters of all officials. He next adopted a kind of universal spy system, by which he obtained a knowledge of all that was said or done in families of distinction in the capital, or throughout the country. Crime, also, was so rigorously punished, that robbery and theft, formerly common, became almost unknown; "the traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety, from the Sea of Bengal to the Mountains of Cabool, and from Tulingana to Cashmere." These are Ferishta's words; but the description must be taken with considerable allowance, as a portion of the territories within these limits was not yet under the jurisdiction of the King of Delhi. To repress drunkenness, he issued an edict similar to that of Bulbun, making the use of wine and strong liquors a capital offence. To prove his sincerity and determination on the subject, he emptied his own cellars into the streets, and was imitated in this respect to

Ala-u-din's
administra-
tive reform.

A.D. 1303. such an extent, by all classes of people, that for several days the common sewers ran wine.

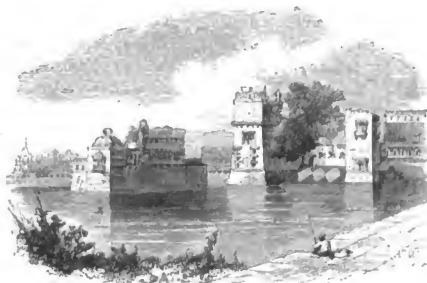
Tyranny of
Ala-u-din.

As too often happens under despotisms, the radical reforms of Ala-u-din degenerated into unmitigated tyranny and rapacity. As a means of keeping the nobility in check, he enacted that they should be incapable of contracting marriage without the previous consent of the crown, and prohibited them from holding private meetings, or engaging in political discussions. To such a length was this prohibition carried, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the vizier. His rapacity he gratified by seizing the private property and confiscating the estates of Mussulmans and Hindoos, without distinction, and cutting down the salaries of public offices, till they were filled only by needy men, ready to act as his servile instruments. Nor did he confine himself to officials; for all classes and employments were subjected to minute and vexatious regulations. His views in regard to ecclesiastical matters are evinced by a common saying attributed to him, "that religion had no connection with civil government, but was only the business, or rather the amusement of private life."

Chittoor
attacked.

In 1303, Ala-u-din having set out to attack the strong fort of Chittoor, in Rajpootana, Toorghay Khan, a Mogul chief, took advantage of his absence, to

prepare a new expedition into Hindoostan. He accordingly entered it at the head of twelve tomans of horse (120,000); and, proceeding directly towards Delhi, encamped on the banks of the Jumna. Ala-u-din, having been made aware of his intention, had hastened



RUINS OF THE PALACE OF RANA BHEEM, CHITTOOR.¹—From Tod's Annals of Rajasthan.

Delhi
blockaded
by the
Moguls.

home by forced marches, and arrived before him. He was unable, however, to take the open field, as great part of his army had been left behind. All he could do was to entrench himself on a plain beyond the suburbs, where he remained two months; while the Mogul, in possession of the surrounding country, cut off all supplies, and plundered up to the very suburbs of the capital. From some cause never understood, and therefore ascribed to the

¹ Chittoor was also taken by Akber (1567); by Azim | plundered, and (1790), by Sindia, from Bheem Singh, Ushaun, son of Aurungzebe (1680), by whom it was | the rebellious subject of the Rana of Odeypoor.

miraculous intervention of a saint, the Moguls were one night seized with a panic, and never halted till they had regained their own country. A.D. 1304.

The extreme danger which he thus so singularly escaped, convinced Ala-u-din of the necessity of greatly increasing his forces, but the expense seemed beyond his means. Large as his treasures and revenues were, he found that he could not support an army on the scale proposed, for more than six years. Retrenchment then became the order of the day, and many curious plans were devised for that purpose. His first resolution was, to lower the pay, but as, according to the custom of that period, the soldiers furnished their own horses, arms, and provisions, a reduced pay was impossible, unless these articles also were lowered in price. This, therefore, was the course which Ala-u-din resolved to pursue. By an edict to be strictly enforced throughout the empire, he fixed the price of every article of consumption or use, grain of every kind, horses, asses, camels, oxen and cows, sheep and goats, cloths coarse and fine, ghee or clarified butter, salt, sugar and sugar-candy, onions, and garlic. The treasury even opened a loan to furnish merchants with ready money, with which they could import manufactured goods from the cheaper markets of adjoining countries. It is said that a court favourite proposed, by way of joke, to fix a price for prostitution. "Very well," said the king. "that shall be fixed also;" and three classes, with fixed prices for each, were actually formed. Such is a sample of Ala-u-din's scheme of finance.

Minute and vexatious regulations.

About 1304, after a new irruption of Moguls had been chastised, Ein-ool-Moolk was sent to make the conquest of Malwah. The rajah met him with 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot; but was defeated, and his capital, Oojein, with other cities, were taken. The news gave so much joy, that the capital was illuminated for seven days. Amid the general rejoicings, there was one poor rajah who sat solitary in his prison, mourning. This was the Rajah of Chittoor, Ray Ruttun Sein, who, ever since the capture of his fort, had been kept in close confinement at Delhi. An insulting offer of liberty had, indeed, been made him. He had a daughter celebrated for her beauty and accomplishments, and Ala-u-din was willing to give him his release, provided she would become an inmate of his harem. It is said that he consented; perhaps he only seemed to consent. Be this as it may, he sent for his daughter, but his family determined sooner to poison her, than subject her to the degradation intended. The princess took the matter into her own hands; and adopted a scheme which, happily, proved successful in both saving her own honour and procuring her father's freedom.

Imprisonment of the Rajah of Chittoor.

Every arrangement having been made for the proposed exchange, she wrote to say that on a certain day she would arrive at Delhi with her attendants. A royal passport was immediately sent her, and her cavalcade, proceeding by slow marches, reached the capital as the evening closed. By the king's special orders the litters were carried directly into the prison, without being subjected to His escape.

A.D. 1309. any inspection. The princess was not there, but in her stead several trusty dependants of her family completely armed, who, as soon as they were admitted within the prison, cut down the sentinels, and set the rajah free. He made his escape to the hills, from which he continued to make frequent descents, and avenge himself on the Mahometans for the insults and sufferings which he had endured.

A new Mogul
invasion de-
feated.

In 1305, the Moguls again, under the leadership of an officer of the name of Eibuk Khan, crossed the Indus, and after ravaging Mooltan, proceeded to Sewalik. Ghazy Beg Toghlak, aware of the route by which they would return, placed himself in ambush near the banks of the Indus, and rushing out suddenly, defeated the invaders with great slaughter. Seeing their return cut off, the survivors had no alternative but to return into the desert. It was the hot season, and, in a short time, out of 57,000 cavalry, and camp followers who outnumbered them, only 3000 remained alive. When taken to Delhi, they were trodden to death by elephants, and a pillar was raised before the Budaoon gate with their skulls. Another invasion shortly after having met with no better success, the Moguls were so discouraged, as well as exhausted, that they not only desisted for many years from entering Hindoostan, but found themselves placed on the defensive, Ghazy Beg Toghlak scarcely allowing a season to pass in which he did not cross to the west bank of the Indus, and plunder the provinces of Cabool, Ghuznee, and Kandahar.

Conquest of
the Deccan.

Ala-u-din, now rid of his most formidable enemies, had time to resume his conquests in the Deccan; and with this view despatched Mullik Kafoor, who had been originally purchased as a slave, with an army against Ram Dew, Rajah of Dewghur, who had neglected for three years to pay his stipulated tribute. The army, when it set out, mustered 100,000 horse, and was reinforced on the way by the troops of the governors of Malwah and Gujerat. Mullik Kafoor, after encamping on the frontiers of the Deccan, was so strenuously opposed, that for a time he made little progress, and had nothing to plume himself upon except the capture of a daughter of the beautiful Kowla Devy, who, from being the wife of a Hindoo rajah, as already mentioned, had become the favourite of the Delhi harem. The daughter had a similar fate, for she was on the way to become the bride of a rajah when she was captured; and afterwards, on being brought to Delhi, was married to Khizr Khan, Ala-u-din's son.

On a second expedition to the Deccan, in 1309, Mullik Kafoor proceeded by way of Dewghur towards Wurungole, a place of great strength. After appearing at Indoor, about ninety miles north of Hyderabad, and causing great consternation among the inhabitants, who had never seen the Mahometans before, he sat down before Wurungole, which made a valiant defence, but was ultimately taken by assault. In the following year he proceeded still further south, reached the Malabar coast, and then, turning inland, continued his victorious career to the frontiers of Mysore. Much of his time was employed in plundering

the temples, and the spoil which he brought back to Delhi was enormous. It is curious that silver is not mentioned as forming any part of it. Gold, indeed, seems to have been the precious metal chiefly used at this time in India, as coin, ornament, or plate. A.D. 1310.

Ala-u-din had now reached the zenith of his power. Though he had been guilty of many crimes, fortune had never ceased to favour him, and his territories had extended on every side, till they assumed the magnitude and splendour of an empire. The period of decline, however, had now arrived. Mullik Kafoor, who possessed his utmost confidence, and used it for the promotion of his treasonable designs, disgusted the nobles, and spread discontent among the people. His own health, too, undermined by intemperance and vicious indulgence, gave way; and his family, to whose training he had never attended, entirely neglected him, and spent their time in revelry. His principal wife, Mullika Jehan, was equally indifferent; and he found himself in the midst of a palace, glittering with gold and jewels, destitute of every domestic comfort. He made his complaints to Mullik Kafoor, who turned them to good account, by insinuating that the queen and her sons Khizr Khan and Shady Khan, together with his brother Aluf Khan, had entered into a conspiracy against his life. The brother was accordingly seized and put to death, while the queen and her sons were imprisoned.

Ala u din's
declining
fortune.

During these domestic calamities, the flames of insurrection burst forth in various quarters. Gujerat took the lead, and defeated the general sent against it with great slaughter. The Rajpoots of Chittoor, rising against their Mahometan officers, hurled them from the walls, and resumed their independence; while Hural Dew, the son-in-law of Ram Dew, stirred up the Deccan, and expelled several of the Mahometan garrisons. The tidings made Ala-u-din mad with rage, and so increased his illness, that it took a fatal form, and carried him off in 1316, after a reign of twenty years. It is doubtful if his death was natural, for the subsequent conduct of his worthless favourite, Mullik Kafoor, tends to confirm the suspicion that poison was employed.

His death.

The day after the death, Mullik Kafoor produced a will, said to be spurious, by which the late king gave the crown to Prince Oomor Khan, his youngest son, and made Mullik regent during his minority. The young prince, then in his seventh year, was placed upon the throne, while Mullik used him as a tool, and proceeded to carry out his own schemes. One of his first acts was to put out the eyes of Khizr Khan and Shady Khan, and increase the rigour of the sultana's confinement. Another act, somewhat singular, as he was an eunuch, was to marry the young king's mother, who had ranked as Ala-u-din's third wife. He meant, for additional security, to have put out the eyes of Prince Moobarik Khan, the son of the second wife of Ala-u-din, and had even proceeded to the still more atrocious step of sending assassins to murder him. The prince succeeded in buying them off; and a lieutenant of the guards, on hearing

Mullik Kafoor's treasonable proceedings.

A. D. 1321

Moobarik
Khan suc-
ceeds.His wicked
reign

of the attempt, proceeded at once with several of his soldiers to Mullik Kafoor's apartment, and put him, and several of the principal eunuchs in his interest, to death. Prince Moobarik Khan immediately ascended the throne, and Prince Oomor, who had occupied it nominally for three months, was deprived of sight, and imprisoned for life.

Moobarik's reign, which lasted four years, is a mere tissue of vices and crimes. The officer who had saved his life, and been the main instrument of his elevation, was put to death, merely because it was said that he presumed upon his services. After this most ungrateful act, he began to show some little activity; and, besides sending Ein-ool-Moolk, a general of great abilities, into Gujerat, proceeded in person into the Deccan, and recovered the country of the Mahrattas. On returning, he sent his favourite, Mullik Khosrow, to whom he had given the ensigns of royalty, as far as the Malabar coast. Here he remained about a year, and acquired immense wealth by plunder. His ambition being thus excited, he proposed to make himself sovereign of the Deccan. With this view, he endeavoured to gain over the chief officers of his army. He did not succeed; and a formal charge of treason was made against him to the king, who was, however, so blinded in his favour, that he punished his accusers, and trusted him still more than before.

Moobarik no sooner found himself in quiet possession of Gujerat, the Deccan, and most parts of Northern India, than the little activity which he had begun to display ceased, and he gave himself up to unbounded and shameless excesses. Indecencies which cannot be mentioned, were his daily amusements. Universal discontent and disgust were in consequence excited; but the first attempt on his

life was made by his favourite, Khosrow. He had been repeatedly warned that a conspiracy was being hatched, and the proofs of it were so evident, that it had become the common talk. Still, his infatuation was continued; and he was not roused from it till the conspirators were actually on the stairs



MAUSOLEUM OF KHOSROW.—From Daniell's Oriental Scenery

He is
assassinated

of the palace. He endeavoured to make his escape by a private passage; but Khosrow, who knew of it, intercepted him, and a deadly struggle took place.

Moo-barik, being the stronger of the two, threw Khosrow on the ground, but could not disentangle himself from his grasp, as his hair was twisted in his enemy's hand. The other conspirators had thus time to come up, and Moo-barik's head was severed from his body by a scimitar.

A.D. 1321.

Khosrow was not allowed long to profit by his crime. He, indeed, ascended the throne in 1321, under the title of Nasir-u-din, but a confederation of the nobility was immediately formed against him. It was headed by Ghazy Beg Toghlak, who had acquired great renown by his expedition against the Moguls. In the battle which ensued, Khosrow was defeated, captured, and slain; and Ghazy Beg Toghlak, with some degree of reluctance, mounted the throne amid universal acclamations. The people saluted him Shah Jehan, "The King of the Universe;" but he assumed the more modest title of Gheias u din, "The Aid of Religion."

Usurpation
of Khosrow.

Gheias-u-din Toghlak reigned little more than four years. He owed his crown to his fame as a warrior, and secured it by the better fame of a wise and just ruler. The incidents of his reign are few. One of the most important was the siege of Wurungole, which had thrown off the Mahometan yoke, and resumed its independence. Prince Aluf Khan, the king's eldest son, conducted the siege; the Rajah Luddur Dew the defence. Both sides greatly exerted themselves, and the losses were severe, particularly on the part of the besiegers, who not only failed to make a practicable breach, but, in consequence of the hot winds and severe weather, were seized with a malignant distemper, which daily swept off hundreds. The survivors, completely dispirited, were anxious to return home; and sinister rumours, circulated by the disaffected, caused general consternation, under the influence of which, a number of officers moved off suddenly during the night, with all their followers. Aluf Khan, thus deserted, had no alternative but to raise the siege. In the haste and disorder of his retreat, he was pursued by the enemy with great slaughter. The officers who deserted suffered equally. One died in a Hindoo prison, another was cut off by the Malrattas, and their whole baggage was captured. One of the rumours which had been circulated, was the death of the king. The authors of the rumour having been discovered, were condemned to be buried alive, the king jocularly but barbarously remarking, "that as they had buried him alive in jest, he would bury them alive in earnest." A new army having been collected, Aluf Khan renewed the siege of Wurungole, and obliged it to surrender. The news were celebrated with great rejoicings in the new citadel of Delhi, which had just been finished, and had received the name of Toghlakabad.

Reign of
Gheias u-
din Toghlak.Siege of
Wurungole.

In 1325 Gheias-u-din Toghlak, after a journey to Bengal to inquire into complaints made against the governors in that quarter, reached Afghanpoor on his return. His son Aluf Khan, who had previously arrived with the nobles of the court to offer their congratulations, had hastily erected a wooden building

Toghlak's
accidental
death.

A.D. 1327. for his reception. Here a splendid entertainment had been given; and the king, having ordered his equipage, was in the act of quitting the building to continue his journey, when the roof suddenly gave way and crushed him, with five of his attendants, in the ruins. The cause has been variously explained. Most attribute it to accident: some even to design. One author, not satisfied with either explanation, offers one of his own, and asserts, "that the building had been raised by magic, and the instant the magical charm which upheld it was dissolved, it fell."

Toghlak's
son succeeds
under the
title of
Mahomed-
Toghlak.

Aluf Khan, the late king's eldest son, succeeded, under the title of Mahomed Toghlak. He is said to have been the most learned, eloquent, and accomplished prince of his time. He was well versed in history, having a memory so retentive that every date or event of which he once read, remained treasured up in it; wrote good poetry; and had made logic, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine his special study. The philosophy of the Greek schools was well known to him. With all these literary accomplishments, he was a skilful and valiant warrior, and thus united qualities so opposite that his contemporaries describe him as one of the wonders of the age. They also extol him for his piety, which he evinced by a careful observance of the rites enjoined, and strict abstinence from drunkenness and other vices forbidden by the Koran. This is the fair side of his character: for it had also its darker features. He was stern, cruel, and vindictive. As Ferishta expresses it, "So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when anything occurred which excited him to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to extinguish the human species altogether."

Mogul
incursions
resumed.

In 1327 the Moguls, who had ceased their incursions for many years, resumed them; and a celebrated leader, called Toormooshreen Khan, belonging to the tribe of Choghtay, made his appearance in Hindoostan at the head of a vast army. Province after province was overrun, and he advanced rapidly towards Delhi. Mahomed Toghlak, unable to meet him in the field, saved his capital by the fatal and humiliating expedient of buying him off by a ransom so large as to be almost equal to the price of his kingdom. The Mogul withdrew by way of Gujerat and Scinde, but plundered both, and carried off an immense number of captives.

Mahomed's
grinding
taxation
and cruelty.

To compensate for what he had thus lost, Mahomed turned his eyes to the Deccan, the greater part of which he is said to have as effectually incorporated with his dominions as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi. All these conquests, however, were destined to be wrested from him in consequence of his grinding taxation, cruelty, and inordinate ambition. So heavy were the duties rigorously levied on the necessities of life, that the industrious, having no security that they would be permitted to reap the fruits, ceased to labour. The farmers, flying to the woods, lived by rapine; and the fields remaining uncultivated, whole provinces were desolated by famine. The currency, too, was tampered with; and

Cp.
A. D. 1330.

Mahomed struck a copper coin, which, because his name was impressed upon it, he ordered to be received at an extravagant imaginary value. This idea, he is said by Ferishta to have borrowed "from a Chinese custom of issuing paper on the emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money." He shrewdly adds:—"The great calamity consequent upon this debasement of the coin, arose from the known instability of the government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindoostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?"

COPPER COIN OF MAHOMED BIN TOGHLAK.¹

In the midst of the discontent and ruin produced by these wretched financial devices, Mahomed conceived the idea of enriching himself by the conquest of the empire of China. As a first step to the realization of this idea, he despatched his nephew Khosrow Mullik, at the head of 100,000 horse, to subdue Nepal, and the mountainous region on both sides of the Himalaya, as far as the Chinese

Mahomed's
project of
conquering
China.

THE SNOWY RANGE OF THE HIMALAYAS, from Mafma.—From G. F. White's Views in Himalayas.

frontiers. This done, he was to follow in person. In vain did his more sagacious and faithful counsellors assure him that the whole scheme was visionary. He had made up his mind, and was not to be dissuaded.

¹ On the obverse—Struck as a piece of fifty kanis, in the time of the servant, hopeful (of Divine mercy), Mahomed Toghlak. On the reverse—He who obeys

the king, truly he obeys the Merciful (God). 138 grs. 732 A H, Dowletabad.—Thomas's *Coins of the Patan Sultans of Hindustan*.

A. D. 1338.

Disastrous
expedition
to the
Chinese
frontier.

Khosrow Mullik made his way with great difficulty across the mountains, building forts as he proceeded, in order to secure the road. On arriving, in 1337, at the Chinese boundary with forces fearfully reduced, he found himself in front of a numerous army prepared to oppose his further progress. The sight struck the Indian army with dismay, and a precipitate retreat was commenced. The Chinese followed closely, while the mountaineers occupied the passes in the rear and plundered the baggage. For seven days the Indians remained in this perilous position, suffering all the horrors of famine. At length the rain began to fall in torrents. The first effect was to oblige the Chinese to retire to a greater distance, and Khosrow began to conceive hopes of making good his retreat. He was soon undeceived. The low grounds became inundated, while the mountains continued impervious. The result is easily told. The whole army melted away, and scarcely a man returned to relate the particulars.

Barbarous
punishment
of a traitor.

One of the king's nephews, who was called Koorshasip, and held a government in the Deccan, was tempted by the general discontent which prevailed to aspire to the throne, and in 1338 openly raised the standard of revolt. He at first gained some advantages, but was afterwards captured and carried to Delhi, where he was flayed alive, and then paraded a horrid spectacle around the city, the executioner going before and proclaiming aloud, "Thus shall all traitors to their king perish."

Attempted
removal
of the capital
to Dewle-
tabad.

Before this rebellion was suppressed, the king had taken the field in person, and fixed his head-quarters at Dewghur. Its situation and strength so pleased him that he determined to make it his capital. His resolution once announced was inflexible, and orders were forthwith issued that Delhi should be evacuated, and all its inhabitants, men, women, and children, with all their property, should migrate to Dewghur, the name of which was changed to *Dowletabad*. The abandonment of Delhi, which was styled, in the hyperbolical style of the East, "The Envy of the World," was productive of great misery and discontent, and Mahomed began to feel that the change of capital was an exploit which even all his energy and despotism could hardly accomplish. Having been led in the course of an expedition to the proximity of the old capital, those of his army who originally belonged to it, were seized with such a longing to return, that they deserted in great numbers and took refuge in the woods, determined to remain till the rest of the army should have left. The numbers of the troops were so thinned by this desertion, that the king had no alternative but to fix his residence at Delhi, and thus lure the deserters back. His original purpose, however, was not abandoned; and at the end of two years he carried off the whole of the inhabitants a second time to the Deccan, "leaving the noble metropolis of Delhi a resort for owls, and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the desert." Before he left, he was guilty of barbarities which are almost incredible. On one occasion, having set out with an immense hunting party, on arriving at the district of Behram, he made the startling announcement that he had come to

hunt not beasts but men, and began to massacre the inhabitants. He completed the barbarity by carrying back some thousands of the heads of the slain to Delhi, and hanging them over the city walls. A. D. 1356.

These atrocities were more than human nature could endure, and rebellion, on a greater or less scale, broke out in every quarter—in Bengal, on the Malabar coast, and even in the new capital, Dowletabad. These two last rebellions seem to have somewhat cooled the king's partiality for the Deccan; and free permission was given to those whom he had forced to migrate, to return to Delhi. Thousands made the attempt; but a general famine was then raging, and while many perished by the way, many more reached their beloved Delhi, only to die in it. The most formidable insurrection of all broke out in the south. It was the result of a confederacy formed for the express purpose of extirpating the Mahometans from the Deccan. The principal leaders were Krishn Naig, son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Wurungole, and Belal Dew, Rajah of the Carnatic. So extensive and so successful was the confederacy, that, in a short time, Dowletabad was the only place within the Deccan which the Mahometans could call their own. Ultimately, however, a considerable portion of the lost territory was recovered, and the whole Deccan was divided, as before, into four Mahometan provinces. Though scarcely a month now passed without a revolt, and everything seemed ripe for a general revolution, Mahomed Toghlak kept his throne, and at last descended to the grave by a death which was not violent, and yet cannot well be called natural. He had ordered a large number of boats to be collected at Tatta, and proceeded thither across the Indus, to chastise the Soomara Prince of Scinde, who had given protection to Mullik Toghan, when heading a formidable revolt of Mogul mercenaries in Gujerat. When within sixty miles of Tatta, he was seized with fever, attributed by his physicians to a surfeit of fish. The symptoms were favourable, but his restless spirit would not allow him to remain to complete his recovery, and a fatal relapse ensued. His death took place in 1351, after a reign of twenty-seven years. Various insurrections

After a short struggle, in which a reputed son of the late king, a mere child, was put forward and immediately set aside, his cousin Feroze, known by the title of Feroze Toghlak, mounted the throne. Considering the troubled state of the country, two of the most remarkable facts of his reign are, its length of thirty-eight years, and its termination, by a peaceful death, at the age of ninety. The empire of Delhi, however, was evidently in a rapid state of decline. The Deccan could hardly be said to be incorporated with it; and Bengal was so completely dissevered, that in 1356 Feroze consented to receive an ambassador from its king, with proposals of peace; and thus virtually, if not formally, acknowledged it as an independent kingdom. Both Bengal and the Deccan, however, still continued to pay a small tribute. Though Feroze does not figure as a warrior, he obtained a high name for wise legislation, and a large number of public works, in which, while magnificence was not forgotten, utility was Reign of Feroze.

A.D. 1394. specially consulted. One of these works, in which 50,000 labourers were employed, was a canal, intended to connect the Soorsooty or Soorsa, a small tributary of the Sutlej, with a small stream, called the Sulima or Khanpoor, and thereby obtain a perennial stream to flow through Sirhind and Munsurpoor. The canal, if ever completed, no longer exists; but it deserves notice for the remarkable fact, that in the digging of it, about five centuries ago, fossil remains of a gigantic size were discovered and attracted much attention. It is not easy to say to what animals they belonged; but Ferishta, adopting the opinion which appears to have been formed at the time of the discovery, says they were the bones of elephants and men; and adds, "the bones of the human fore arm measured three gaz (5 feet 2 inches); some of the bones were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone."

Public
works of
Feroze.

Among the other works of Feroze are enumerated—40 mosques, 30 colleges, 20 palaces, 100 hospitals, 100 caravansaries, 100 public baths, 150 bridges, 50 dams across rivers, and 30 reservoirs or lakes for irrigation. He appears to have been sufficiently conscious of his good deeds; and rather pharisaically caused some of them to be inscribed on the mosque of Ferozabad, a city which he had built in the vicinity of Delhi. The following may be taken as a sample:—"It has been usual in former times to spill Mahometan blood on trivial occasions; and, for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverizing the bones of the living criminal with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion, and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of hamstringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces. God, in his infinite goodness, having been pleased to confer on me the power, has also inspired me with the disposition to put an end to these practices."

Reign of
Gheias-u-
din.

Gheias-u-din, whom his grandfather Feroze had associated with him in the government a year before he died, now became sole sovereign, but proved utterly unworthy of reigning, and within six months was assassinated. A contest for the succession took place between Abubekr, a grandson, and Mahomed, a son of the late Feroze. The former had been placed on the throne by the assassins of Gheias-u-din; but in the course of eighteen months the latter displaced him, and assumed the title of Nasir-u-din Mahomed Toghlaq. He died in 1394, after a reign of six years and seven months, entirely barren of great events, and fruitful only in intestine dissensions; and was succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, who assumed the name of Sikundur, and died suddenly, in the course of forty-five days. These constant changes threw everything into disorder, and a kind of anarchy ensued; each chief who thought himself strong enough making no scruple of throwing off his allegiance, and declaring himself independent. In Delhi alone there were two parties, each with a separate king, the one occupying Delhi proper, and the other Ferozabad. A third party, occupying the citadel, professed neutrality, but this only meant that they were

endeavouring to hold the balance, with the view of ultimately selling themselves to the most advantage. Civil war thus raged in the very heart of the city, and the streets frequently ran with blood. A.D. 1393.

During this confusion, intelligence arrived, in 1396, that Prince Peer Mahomed Jehangir, grandson of the celebrated Timour or Tamerlane, had crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats, and laid siege to Ooch. The governor of Mooltan was preparing for the relief of it when Peer Mahomed, anticipating his movements, arrived, just in time to surprise the Mooltanies immediately after they had crossed the Beas. Their show of resistance was useless; and most of those who escaped the sword perished in the river. A few made good their retreat to Mooltan, but the victor was close at their heels, and the governor, Sarung Khan, had barely time to retire into the fort. After a siege of six months, want of provisions obliged him to surrender at discretion. The presence of such an enemy as Peer Mahomed Jehangir was a dire calamity. How fearfully must the calamity have been increased when he proved to be only the forerunner of his grandfather. The event is of sufficient importance to demand a new chapter.



RUINS OF TOGHLAKABAD. Part of the Serai.
From Bacon's First Impressions of India

¹ Toghlikabad was named after its founder, the Emperor Gheias-u-din Toghlak, who died A.D. 1325. A few miserable huts contain all its present inhabi-

tants; but the rude, massy, and stupendous ruins of its walls, palaces, and subterranean apartments still attract the notice of travellers.

CHAPTER IV.

Invasion of Timour or Tamerlane—Battle of Delhi—Sack of Delhi—Khizr Khan, Timour's deputy—Independent kingdoms established on the ruins of the Delhi monarchy—Proceedings of Khizr Khan—His death—Moobarik, his son and successor—Syud Mahomed—Syud Ala-u-din—Afghan Lody dynasty—Bheilole Lody—Sikundur Lody—Ibrahim Lody—Extinction of the Lody Afghan dynasty, and renewal of that of the Moguls in the person of Baber.



IMOUR, or Timour Beg, usually called by the Asiatics Ameer Teimoor, and by Europeans Tamerlane or Tamerlan, evidently a corruption for Timour Leng, or Lame Timour, an epithet applied to him on account of a certain degree of lameness, was born about 1336, in a village in the vicinity of Samarcand.

A. D. 1398.

According to some, he was only the son of a herdsman; but a more probable account is, that he was the son or grandson of a Tartar or Mogul chief. He himself traced his descent from Ghenghis Khan. On the downfall of the Mogul dynasty of Dschaggatai, he managed to obtain the supremacy, and made Samarcand his capital. Possessing the ambition as well as the talents of a conqueror, he had overrun Persia, and extended his dominions over Central Asia, from the wall of China west to the frontiers of Europe, and even beyond, to Moscow. He was not yet satisfied; and in 1398, when his age must have exceeded sixty, he made his appearance on the west bank of the Indus, at the head of a mighty host. The convulsed state of the country promising an easy conquest, and the immense plunder which would necessarily follow, were his great inducements. His grandson had, as we have seen, been sent before, apparently to feel the way. He himself now crossed the river, and commenced a course of almost unparalleled massacre and devastation. Having arrived at the junction of the Chenab and Ravee, where the town and strong fort of Tulumba are situated, he crossed by a bridge; and, entering the town, plundered it, and slaughtered the inhabitants without mercy. The fort was too strong to be taken by assault. He therefore left it, and proceeded to a town called Shahnawaz, where, finding more grain than his own troops required, he caused the rest to be burned. On crossing the Beas, he entered a rich and plentiful country. Meanwhile, his grandson, Peer Mahomed Jehangir, had met with more obstruction. After taking Mooltan, the rainy season commenced, and so many of the cavalry encamped in the open country were destroyed, that he was under the necessity of lodging his whole army within the walls. Here he became so completely hemmed in and cut off from supplies, that he was in the greatest danger of losing his whole army, when Tamerlane, after sending forward a detachment of 30,000 select horse, joined him with his whole army.

Tamerlane
approaches
the Indus.

His grand-
son takes
Mooltan.

Tamerlane now marched to Bhatneer, which was crowded with people flying in terror from the surrounding districts. On his approach half of them were driven out of the town, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. After a short resistance from the governor, he forced his entrance, and committed so many cruelties that the garrison, seeing the fate which awaited them, killed their wives and children in despair, set fire to the place, and, rushing out, sold their lives as dearly as they could, by killing some thousands of the Moguls. Tamerlane, in revenge, laid Bhatneer in ashes, after causing every soul in it to be massacred. Soorsooty, Futtehehad, Rajpoor, and other towns, were subjected to similar barbarities. These, however, were merely preludes to a more general extermination.

A. D. 1398.

Tamerlane's
devastations.

Tamerlane's great object was Delhi, towards which he kept steadily advancing. Having at length advanced opposite to it, he crossed the river with only 700 horse, to reconnoitre. Mahmood Toghlak, then the pageant King of Delhi, and his minister, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, tempted by the smallness of his attendants, sallied out with 5000 horse, and twenty-seven elephants. Notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, the Delhi troops were repulsed. A vast number of prisoners were in the Mogul camp, and some of them, on seeing Tamerlane attacked at a disadvantage, could not refrain from expressing their joy. The circumstance being reported to this cruel barbarian, he took his revenge by ordering that all the prisoners above the age of fifteen should be put to the sword. In this horrid massacre, nearly 100,000 men, almost all Hindoos, are said to have perished.

Siege of
Delhi.

Having now forded the river with his whole army, Tamerlane encamped on the plain of Ferozabad. The King of Delhi and his minister again risked the encounter, but with the same result as before. The elephants, on which they mainly trusted, being, at the first charge, deprived of most of their drivers, turned back, and spread confusion in their own ranks. Tamerlane gave no time to rally; and, following the fugitives up to the very gates of Delhi, there fixed his head-quarters. Consternation now spread over the city; and the king, instead of attempting to allay it, thought only of his own safety, and fled in the direction of Gujerat. All idea of resistance being abandoned, the chief men of the city, crowding to the camp, made their submission, and Tamerlane was formally proclaimed emperor. A heavy contribution having been ordered, some difficulty was found in levying it. On this pretext, a body of soldiers were sent into the city, and immediately commenced an indiscriminate plunder. It had continued for five days before Tamerlane was even aware of it. He had remained outside in the camp to celebrate a festival in honour of his victory, and the first intimation of the proceedings in Delhi was given him when he saw it in flames; for the Hindoos, in despair, had murdered their wives and children, set fire to their houses, and then rushed out to perish by the sword. A general massacre ensued, and some streets became impassable from heaps of

Delhi
sacked.

A D. 1598. dead. The amount of plunder was beyond calculation. Tamerlane remained at Delhi fifteen days, and then commenced his return home, carrying with him, as part of his own share of the spoil, 120 elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a great number of curious animals belonging to a menagerie which Feroze Toghlak had formed. He is also said to have been so much struck with admiration at the mosque which that monarch had built, and on the walls of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, that he took back the architects and masons to Samarcand to build one on a similar plan.

Capture of Meerut.

He first halted at Paniput, and sent a detachment to besiege Meerut. The garrison, confiding in its strength, ridiculed the very idea of capture, and insultingly reminded the officer of the defeat which another Mogul general had sustained before it. The officer, without attempting anything, returned to Tamerlane, who forthwith appeared in person, and commenced running mines with such rapidity that his ultimate success was certain. The process, however, seemed too slow to his Moguls, who, having filled up the ditch, applied their scaling-ladders and grappling-irons to the walls, carried the place by assault, and put every soul within it to the sword. The mines employed by Tamerlane in this and many other sieges, were not intended to be filled with gunpowder, as in modern warfare, but merely to sap the foundations of the walls, which, while the process was being carried on, were supported by wooden frames. When the process was finished, the wooden frames were set on fire, and the walls, thus left without support, necessarily tumbled. In this instance the Mogul conqueror, to wreak his vengeance more effectually, completed his mines after the place had been taken without them, and thus entirely destroyed its defences.

Tamerlane's return.

In continuing his march, Tamerlane skirted the mountains of Sewalik, crossed the Ganges, and laid waste the whole country with fire and sword along its banks up to the point where it bursts from its rocky gorges. He afterwards repassed the river, and ultimately reached Samarcand by way of Cabool. Before he left, a Gukkur chief, taking advantage of his absence, got possession of Lahore, and refused to acknowledge his authority. He therefore sent a detachment against that city, which fell in a few days. While he halted at Jamoo, Khizr Khan, who had submitted to him and become a favourite, was appointed by him viceroy of Mooltan, Lahore, and Depalpoor.

Dismemberment of the Delhi kingdom.

For two months after Tamerlane's departure, Delhi was a prey to anarchy, and was at the same time ravaged by pestilence and famine. After a series of sanguinary struggles, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the old Mahometan vizier, gained the ascendancy, and something like regular government was re-established. This return to order induced many of the inhabitants who had fled to return; and the city, which had recently been a smoking ruin, began to recover. In addition to a small district around the city, Mulloo Yekbal obtained possession of the Doab, or the tract lying between the Jumna and Ganges. This was now

all that remained of what had recently been a great empire. All the other provinces were seized by the governors, who continued to hold them in their own names as independent kingdoms. A D. 1421.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan was not contented that Delhi should be thus shorn of its greatness. He added considerably to its territory by successful attacks on neighbouring governors; and made affairs to assume an appearance so promising that the ex-king, Mahmood Toghlok, who had found an asylum first at Gujerat, and then at Malwah, was induced, by his invitation, to return in 1401. Mulloo Yekbal, however, still continued to retain the sovereign power in his own hands; and Mahmood, feeling ill at ease, was provided for by being put in possession of Canouge. Mulloo Yekbal, having thus got quit of him, appears soon to have forgotten all the deference which he used to show him; for, in 1404, after a victory which filled him with ambitious longings, he did not hesitate to lead an army against his old sovereign. Mahmood shut himself up in Canouge; and Mulloo, unable to reduce it, raised the siege. He shortly after turned his arms against Khizr Khan, but his good fortune forsook him, and he was defeated and slain in 1405.

Usurpation
of Mulloo
Yekbal.

On this event, the officers who had been left in Delhi gave an invitation to Mahmood Toghlok, who, leaving Canouge, came with a small retinue, and was re-seated on his throne. Mahmood had neither the sense nor courage necessary to maintain his positions; and after various vicissitudes, shut himself up in Ferozabad, where he was besieged by Khizr Khan, who was, however, obliged to raise the siege from want of forage and provisions. The release was only temporary, for having obtained supplies, he immediately returned. Meanwhile, Mahmood had removed to Siry, the old citadel of Delhi. A similar cause obliged Khizr Khan to retire as before; but the deliverance proved as fatal to Mahmood as the capture of the citadel would have been. The transition from fear to joy, and immoderate exertion during a hunting excursion, brought on a fever, of which he died in 1412. With him ended the race of Toorks, the adopted slaves of Sultan Shahab-u-din Ghooory. His inglorious and disastrous reign had lasted, with interruptions, twenty years. The nobles immediately placed an Afghan, of the name of Dowlut Khan Lody, on the throne. He held it nominally for fifteen months, and was then deposed by Khizr Khan, in 1416.

Return of
the ex-king,
Mahmood
Toghlok.

Khizr Khan had gained the favour of Tamerlane, and been appointed, as already mentioned, governor of Lahore, Mooltan, and Depalpoor. Hence, though on the deposition of Dowlut Khan Lody, he assumed the reins of government at Delhi, he refused to appropriate regal titles, affecting to regard himself as only the deputy of Tamerlane, in whose name money was coined, and the Khootba was read. Even after Tamerlane's death, the same policy induced Khizr Khan to acknowledge the supremacy of his successor, Shahrokh Mirza, and even send tribute occasionally to Samarcand. His reign or regency, which was terminated by his death in 1421, after it had lasted little more than seven

Khizr Khan,
Tamerlane's
deputy.

Ca.
A.D. 1440.

years, presents few important events; but his conduct contrasts favourably with that of his predecessors, and the inhabitants of Delhi showed their respect for his memory by wearing black, their garb of mourning, during three days.

Moobarik's
succeeds
Khizr
Khan.

Moobarik, Khizr Khan's eldest son, succeeded him, in virtue of a nomination by his father, when he felt his end approaching. His first military operations were carried on in the Punjab, where he succeeded, but not without difficulty, in suppressing a serious insurrection. The rebel, Jusrut Gukkur, though repeatedly defeated, managed always to escape, and to appear unexpectedly in some other quarter as strong as ever. He even succeeded in creating a diversion in his favour by forming an alliance with Ameer Sheikh Ally, a Mogul chief in the service of Shahrokh Mirza, governor of Cabool, and inducing him to make an incursion into Scinde. The King of Malwah, taking advantage of these disturbances, invested Gwalior, in the hope of adding it to his dominions. Moobarik's attention was thus fully occupied; and his whole reign of thirteen years furnishes nothing more important than a succession of revolts. His temper, said to have been so equable that he never spoke in anger during his life, was probably ill fitted for the times in which he lived. A conspiracy, in which some of his own family were implicated, was formed against him, and he was basely assassinated in the new city of Delhi, while at worship in a mosque.

Unworthy
reign of
Mahomed,
his son.

Prince Mahomed, Moobarik's son, though not one of the actual perpetrators of his father's murder, was perfectly cognizant of it, and endeavoured to turn it to account by immediately mounting the throne. His first act was to proclaim his own shame and guilt, by rewarding the conspirators. The appointment of the ringleader, Survur-ool-Moolk, to the office of vizier, produced general indignation; and a confederacy was formed, which soon broke out into open rebellion. The malcontents marched at once upon Delhi; and Mahomed, seeing that his vizier was chiefly aimed at, thought he might save himself by abandoning him to his fate. The vizier, however, was too crafty to be thus caught; and no sooner learned that the king was in communication with his enemies, than he formed a band of assassins, and broke into the palace in order to murder his master. He, too, had been put on his guard, and had laid a trap for the vizier, who fell into it and was cut to pieces.

Bheilole
Lody aims
at the
throne.

Mahomed, now apparently on good terms with the confederates who had laid siege to Delhi, thought himself safe; and, throwing off all restraint, spent his time in sensual indulgence. The administration of affairs, thus neglected, fell into disorder; discontent prevailed, and an insurrection broke out in Mooltan among the Afghans. Bheilole Lody, who had placed himself at their head, had previously usurped the government of Sirhind, and now made himself master of Lahore, Depalpoor, and all the country as far south as Paniput. Bheilole, unable to cope with the royal army which was sent against him, was driven into the hills, and, abandoning open force, determined to try the effect of intrigue. This he managed so dexterously that the king, on his suggestion, put one of his

ablest and most faithful servants to death; and then, in order to suppress the disturbances which this imbecile and iniquitous act had produced, had recourse to Bheilole for assistance. The crafty Afghan at once obeyed the summons, and marched to Delhi with 20,000 horsemen arrayed in armour. Though this reinforcement made the royal army superior to that of the insurgents, he refused to take the field, and, like a coward, shut himself up in his palace. The brunt of the action which ensued fell upon Bheilole, who acquitted himself manfully; and, in consequence, rose into such favour that Mahomed adopted him as his son. Matters seemed now ripe for the execution of the schemes which Bheilole had all along contemplated. He accordingly strengthened his army by numerous bodies of Afghans, and, throwing off the mask, marched upon Delhi. The siege which he commenced proved more formidable than he had anticipated, and he determined to wait a little longer. Meantime the weak and dissolute Mahomed was permitted, notwithstanding his crime of parricide, to die a natural death, in 1445, after a reign of twelve years.

A.D. 1445.

Ala-u-din, Mahomed's son, mounted the throne, and immediately received the homage of all the chiefs except Bheilole, who was probably not unwilling to provoke a contest in which he felt confident that he would prove the victor. Ala-u-din was too powerless or too mean-spirited to resent the insult, and soon fell into general contempt, the people not hesitating to say openly that he was a weaker man than his father. The kingdom of Delhi now possessed scarcely a shadow of its former greatness; for the whole that could be considered as properly belonging to it was the city of Delhi and a small tract in its vicinity. All the rest of Hindoostan was broken up into separate principalities. The Deccan, Gujerat, Malwah, Jounpoor, and Bengal had each its independent king; while all the other territories, though nominally subordinate to Delhi, were in the hands of chiefs equally independent. At the head of these was, as has been already seen, Bheilole Lody, whose designs on the capital had been repeatedly declared by overt acts, and were only postponed to a fitting opportunity. This opportunity soon arrived.

Ala-u-din's feeble reign.

Various independent kingdoms.

Ala-u-din had early taken a great fancy for Budaoon, where he had spent some time in building pleasure-houses and laying out gardens. He thought that its air agreed better with his health than Delhi, and wished to make it his residence. The remonstrances of his vizier, who showed him the danger, dissuaded him for a time; but crafty courtiers, having succeeded in bringing the vizier into disgrace, he immediately proceeded to follow out his own wishes, regardless of the consequences, and set off to enjoy himself at Budaoon, leaving a deputy to act for him at Delhi. The vizier, though disgraced, was still alive. The very thought made him uneasy; and some of his counsellors, taking advantage of the feeling, persuaded him that his best policy would be to take the vizier's life. The order to that effect was accordingly given; but the vizier was put on his guard, and made his escape to Delhi, where he had influence enough to obtain

Ala-u-din's residence at Budaoon.

A. D. 1451. possession of all the royal effects. The king was urged to hasten back to his capital and strike a decisive blow, but he only made frivolous excuses for delay. One day it was the weather, which made it disagreeable to travel; another day it was the stars, which pronounced it unlucky. The vizier made better use of the time, and invited Bheilole Lody to assume the government. Bheilole set out at once, but gave a new specimen of his Afghan craft by writing to Ala-uddin that his only object in going was to expel the vizier. This was too much even for the imbecile monarch to believe; and he voluntarily took the step to which he saw he would soon be forced, by formally abdicating the throne in Bheilole's favour, on condition of being permitted to reside quietly at Budaoon. Here the remainder of his life, extending to nearly twenty-eight years, was spent. He had previously reigned seven years at Delhi.

Bheilole
founder
of the Lody
Afghan
dynasty.

Bheilole, the founder of the Lody Afghan dynasty, began his reign in 1450. The circumstances of his birth were extraordinary, and being interpreted to portend his future greatness, very probably contributed to realize it. Before he was born his mother was killed by the fall of her house. Her husband, Mullik Kaly, governor of a district in Sirhind, immediately ordered her body to be opened, and, strange to say, the life of the infant was saved. His uncle, Mullik Sultan, who had been appointed governor of Sirhind with the title of Islam Khan, rewarded his valour by giving him his daughter in marriage, and making him his heir, to the exclusion of his own full-grown sons. Islam Khan had usually retained 12,000 Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service. The greater part of these joined Bheilole. The King of Delhi had his suspicions roused as to the ultimate objects of the Afghans; and, by inducing Jusrut Gukkur to take the field against them, drove them to the hills. Here Bheilole headed them, made many predatory incursions, and, by the liberality with which he divided the spoil, attracted great numbers to his standard. The vizier, Hissam Khan, whom the king sent against him, was signally defeated. The result, as has been already related, was that Bheilole found means to ingratiate himself with the king, was adopted as his son, and at last succeeded in displacing Moobarik, who retired into private life, and went to reside, despised or forgotten, at his favourite residence of Budaoon.

Insurrection
in Mooltan

After Bheilole succeeded, he continued for a time to treat the vizier, to whom he was mainly indebted for his elevation, with great respect; but afterwards, thinking he presumed too much on what he had done, he caused some of his servants to seize him. The vizier, though not aware of the offence which he had given, expected nothing but death; but Bheilole told him that, in gratitude for past services, he had a security for his life; the only thing necessary now was, that he should cease to intermeddle with public affairs, and spend the rest of his life in retirement. In 1451, during an absence of Bheilole in Mooltan, a formidable insurrection broke out, headed by Mahmood Shah Shurky, King of Jounpoor, who advanced with a large army, and laid siege to Delhi. Bheilole

returned with precipitation; and, by putting down the rebellion, placed his power on a firmer basis than before. A.D. 1499.

The kingdom of Delhi, contracted in extent as it then was, could not satisfy the ambition of Bheilole, who no sooner found himself firmly seated than he began to think of new conquests. He was not very successful; for he was obliged to make a treaty which bound him to limit his possession to the territories which had belonged to Delhi in the time of Moobarik. His most formidable enemies were the different members of the Shurky family. Among them, Hoossein Shah Shurky took the lead. At one time he advanced against Delhi with 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants; at another he obliged him to make a treaty, by which he relinquished all right to any territory east of the Ganges. Ultimately, however, Bheilole gained so many decided advantages, that a great part of the Shurky territory was incorporated with his own.

Formidable
opposition
of the
Shurky
family.

Bheilole, when he mounted the throne, had a family of nine sons. As he advanced in years, and felt the cares of government weighing heavily upon him, he adopted the very injudicious measure of partitioning his territory among them. In this way the amalgamation of the conquests, which had been the great object of his life, was completely frustrated. Shortly after making this arrangement he was seized with illness, and died in 1488, after a reign of nearly thirty-nine years.

Bheilole's
impolitic
partition
of his
territories.

He had previously declared that his son Nizam Khan, to whom he had allotted Delhi and several districts in the Doab, should be his successor. He was not the lawful heir; for the eldest son of Bheilole, though dead, had left a son, whose title, according to the ordinary rules of succession, was certainly preferable. Nizam Khan owed this preference to the influence of his mother, the daughter of a goldsmith, whose beauty had given her the first place in the harem. After a short contest, all opposition to the appointment ceased, and he assumed the title of Sikundur. His reign, which lasted twenty-eight years, was peaceful, at least compared with that of his predecessors; and he is described as remarkable alike for the comeliness of his person and the excellence of his character. In general, justice was administered impartially, but some remarkable instances of intolerance have left a stain on his reputation. One of these deserves to be recorded.

Reign of
Sikundur.

About 1499, a Brahmin of the name of Boodhun, an inhabitant of a village near Lucknow, being upbraided by some Mahometans on account of his faith, defended himself by maintaining "that the religions, both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted on with sincerity, were equally acceptable to God." He argued the point so ingeniously that considerable attention was excited, and the subject was publicly discussed before the *casis* of Lucknow. These judges did not agree in their conclusion; and the governor, as the best way of settling the matter, sent the Brahmin and all the other parties to Sunbuhl, where the court then happened to be. The king, who was well informed on religious subjects,

Mahometan
fanaticism
and intoler-
ance.

Cis.
A. D. 1500.

and was fond of hearing them discussed, ordered the most learned of his subjects to assemble and debate with the Brahmin. At the very outset of the proceeding there was thus a considerable want of fairness, as the Brahmin was unsupported, while no fewer than nine of the ablest Mahometan doctors were arrayed against him. The result was that the chosen nine found themselves perfectly



A BRAHMIN.—From Belnot's *Sundhya*.

in the right, and the Brahmin altogether in the wrong. As a natural consequence, they were rewarded with gifts; and it would have been well if these had satisfied them, and they had allowed their opponent to go his way. A very different course was followed. The Brahmin, in maintaining that the Hindoo faith was entitled to rank on a footing of equality with the Mahometan, was held to have insulted the Prophet; and the only alternative left was to turn Mahometan or suffer death. He preferred the latter, and was accordingly executed.

The king appears to have been as fond of judicial as of religious questions, and often sat in person in the courts of law. Some of the decisions which he pronounced are celebrated.

Sikundur
celebrated
as a judge.

Two brothers, private soldiers, had, among other booty obtained during a siege, become possessed of two large rubies of different shapes. One of the brothers having determined to quit the service and return to his family at Delhi, the other intrusted him with his share of the plunder, including one of the rubies, and told him to deliver it to his wife. The soldier who had continued to serve, on returning after the war was ended, asked his wife for the ruby, and was told that she had never seen it. The brother, on the contrary, declared that he had delivered it; and when the case was brought before the court, produced a number of witnesses who swore that they had seen him deliver it. The judge, acting on this testimony, decided against the woman, telling her to go home and give the ruby to her husband. Her home was thus rendered so uncomfortable that, as a last resource, she laid her complaint before the king. He listened patiently to her statement, and then summoned all the parties before him. The witnesses repeated their evidence; and, in order to strengthen it, affirmed that they perfectly recollected the size and shape of the ruby, which they had seen given. On this the witnesses were separated, and a piece of wax being given to each of them, as well as to each of the soldiers, they were told to mould it into the form of the gem. On examination, the models of the soldiers agreed, but that of all the others differed. The king drew the inference that the soldiers alone had seen the ruby, and the witnesses had been

suborned to perjure themselves. It is added that a confession to this effect was afterwards extorted from them. A.D. 1517.

Sikundur was succeeded in 1517 by his son Ibrahim. Under his grandfather and father, the Afghans had regarded themselves as a dominant race, and their chiefs, besides monopolizing all the great offices of the state, sat in the royal presence, while all others were constrained to stand. Ibrahim accordingly gave them mortal offence, when, at the commencement of his reign, he announced his determination to make no distinction between his officers, and said publicly, that "kings should have no relations nor clansmen." He was soon made to feel the weight of their indignation. They did not, indeed, attempt to dethrone him; but endeavoured to partition his territories by placing his brother, Julal Khan, on the throne of Jounpoor. Julal accordingly assumed the title of king, appointed his own vizier, and was acknowledged by all the officers of the eastern provinces. The Afghan chiefs soon began to discover that the revenge which they had taken told as much against themselves as against Ibrahim. They and their followers formed a small minority of the population, and nothing but perfect union could enable them to maintain their ascendancy. Influenced by this consideration, they would fain have retraced their steps, but Julal Khan had no idea of resigning his newly-acquired honours, and a civil war ensued. In the end, Ibrahim, having regained the confidence of the Afghan chiefs, crushed the rebellion of Julal Khan, who, having fallen into his brother's hands, was by his private orders assassinated. Ibrahim succeeds Sikundur.
Afghan factions.

This rebellion was no sooner suppressed than another, still more formidable, broke out. Islam Khan, brother of Futteh Khan, whom Julal had made his vizier, believing that Ibrahim had vowed the ruin of his family, availed himself of his influence as governor of Kurra, to form a strong party, and immediately raised the standard of revolt. The first detachment sent against him fell into an ambuscade, and suffered a very severe loss. The insurgents, in consequence, advanced, flushed with victory, and so reinforced that they mustered 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and a large body of infantry. The armies arrived in sight of each other, but, instead of fighting, came to a parley, on the suggestion of Sheikh Rajoo Bokhary, a man in universal esteem for his reputed sanctity. Terms of accommodation were proposed and agreed to; but the king was only playing a part. He had sent orders to the collector of Ghazipoor, and the governor of Oude, to advance, and his object was to keep the insurgents amused till he should be able to overpower them. They discovered their error when it was too late; and having no alternative but to flee or fight on unequal terms, chose the latter. The issue was not long doubtful. After a resistance, dictated rather by despair than by any hope of victory, they fled in all directions. A civil war.

Ibrahim now thought himself secure; but he had only obtained a short respite. Bahadur Khan, on the death of his father, who was governor of Behar, immediately declared himself independent, and assumed the title of king.

A. D. 1525.

Rebellion
of the
governors
of Behar
and Lahore.

Numerous malcontent chiefs joined him; and, at the head of 100,000 horse, he made himself master of all the country as far as Sumbuhl, defeating the Delhi army in several engagements. A still more fatal step was taken by Dowlut Khan Lody, the governor of Lahore. He had at first taken part with the king, but became alarmed at the repeated instances of his perfidy. Not seeing any security for his family in any terms of accommodation which Ibrahim might be induced to grant, and conscious, at the same time, of his inability to meet him in the open field, he entered into a communication with Baber, who was then reigning in Cabool. That prince had long kept his eye fixed on Hindoostan, which, as a direct descendant of Tamerlane, he regarded as part of his inheritance. Nothing, therefore, could be more in accordance with his wishes than Dowlut Khan's invitation. He was well acquainted with the convulsed state of the country; for at this very time Ala-u-din, the brother of Ibrahim, was living in exile at his court. Before taking the field in person, Baber sent forward this prince, who was immediately joined by Dowlut Khan. Many other officers of distinction also rallied around his standard, and he continued his march towards Delhi, with the intention of laying siege to it. His army mustered 40,000 horse. Ibrahim went out to oppose him, but suffered himself to be surprised in the night, and, after a tumultuous conflict, found, when the day dawned, that most of his officers had deserted to the enemy. The troops, however, had remained faithful, and an opportunity of regaining more than he had lost immediately presented itself. The troops of Ala-u-din, thinking they had secured the victory, had dispersed to plunder. Ibrahim, before they were aware, was on them with his elephants and as many of his soldiers as he had rallied, and drove them from the field with great slaughter. Ala-u-din, giving up all for lost, made a precipitate retreat to the Punjab, and Ibrahim once more entered Delhi in triumph. It was of short duration; for the only effect of Ala-u-din's discomfiture was to bring Baber across the Indus in the end of 1525. As the details must be left for another chapter, it is sufficient here to mention the result. The kings met in the beginning of the following year, on the plain of Paniput, and a sanguinary battle was fought, which terminated the life of Ibrahim, and extinguished the Lody Afghan dynasty. On its ruins the far more celebrated dynasty of the Great Mogul was erected.

Invitation
to Baber.

CHAPTER V.

Mogul dynasty—Life and reign of Baber—Hoomayoon—His expulsion and return—State of India at his death.



ABER was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane. His grandfather, Abu Said Mirza, left eleven sons, among whom his extensive dominions were divided. Omar Sheikh Mirza, the fourth son, was for some time governor of Cabool, but was transferred to Ferghana, situated on the upper course of the

A.D. 1483.

Jaxartes. This province, of which he was in possession when Abu Said died, was afterwards held by him as an independent sovereignty. He had married the sister of Mahmood Khan, a descendant of Dschaggatai Khan, and through him connected with Ghenghis Khan. Baber was her son, and was, consequently, by the mother's side, a Mogul. It is somewhat singular that, in his own *Memoirs*, he always speaks with contempt of the Mogul race, though the dynasty which he was about to establish in India was destined to take its name from it. The explanation is, that the title Great Mogul was not chosen by him, but was applied, in accordance with the Hindoo custom of giving the name of Moguls to all the Mahometans of the north-west, with the single exception of the Afghans. When his father died, Baber was only twelve years of age. He was thus deprived of his natural protector before he could be expected to be able to act for himself. To add to the misfortune, his uncles, who ought to have befriended him, were ungenerous enough to resent a quarrel which they had had with the father, on the son. But Baber had talents equal to the difficulties of his position. On learning his father's death, he took immediate steps to secure the succession. As the eldest son, he had the best title to it, and there was no room for dispute. It was necessary, however, to consult his uncle, Sultan Ahmed Mirza, ruler of Samarcand and Bokhara, to whom the supremacy belonged; and Baber sent an embassy to him, to say, "It is plain you must place one of your servants in the command of this country; I am at once your son and your servant; if you appoint me, your purpose will be answered in the most satisfactory manner." This honest but plain dealing gave dissatisfaction, and a hostile answer was returned. The uncle was, in fact, already on the march, determined to complete the conquest which he had begun while Baber's father was alive, and make himself sole master of Ferghana. On this occasion fortune favoured the friendless youth. In crossing a river, the bridge, which was crowded with his uncle's troops, gave way, and great numbers of men, horses, and camels perished. This was regarded as ominous, particularly as a defeat had been sustained at the

Baber, born A.D. 1483: his origin and early history.

His message to his uncle

A.D. 1496. same spot three or four years before. The army, in consequence, became panic-struck, and showed the utmost reluctance to advance. While they were hesitating, the horses were seized with a fatal disease, and Baber's army made its appearance. All these circumstances made the invaders disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, and patch up a hasty peace, when a resolute advance of a few miles would probably have put them in possession of Indijan, Baber's capital.

Baber's
difficult
position.

No sooner was this danger escaped, than another, of an equally formidable nature, threatened him. The Sultan Mahmood Khan made his appearance in the north, and laid siege to Baber's fortress of Akhsi. After repeated assaults, which were repulsed with great valour, he abandoned the attempt as hopeless, and made the best of his way home. A third enemy advanced from the east, plundering and devastating as he came. He was, however, still more easily disposed of than the others, having brought himself into a position out of which, if full advantage had been taken, he could not have extricated himself. Baber, thus freed from the perils which had environed him, turned his leisure to good account, and made many important internal improvements.

Alternate
success and
defeat.

He had hitherto been contented to act on the defensive, but in 1495 he found himself strong enough to change his tactics, and attempt the conquest of Khojend. It had at one time belonged to his father, and on this ground he thought himself entitled to take it if he could. The task proved easier than he anticipated, and he gained possession of it almost without resistance. His next attempt was on Uratuppa; but as the inhabitants had carried home all their grain and provender, thus making it impossible for him to obtain supplies, and as the winter was about to set in, he was obliged to retreat. In 1496, the succession to Samarcand having been disputed, three different claimants appeared, and invaded the country in three different directions. Baber was one of them; but as none of them was able to establish an ascendancy, they all three retired. In the following year Baber renewed the attempt, and conducted his operations with so much skill and valour, that, before the year expired, both the city and territory of Samarcand were in his possession. He was accordingly crowned, and acknowledged by most of the nobles; but as the city had capitulated, and he was anxious to conciliate the inhabitants, he forbade all plunder. The troops were grievously disappointed, and began to disperse. Others, not satisfied with this, went off in a body, and offered their services to Jehangir Mirza, Baber's brother, who was treacherous enough to listen to their overtures, and seize on Indijan, one of the leading districts of Ferghana.

His serious
illness and
misfortunes.

At this time, when all the talents which Baber possessed would scarcely have sufficed, he was seized with a dangerous illness, and found his affairs on the verge of ruin. Samarcand was held by a most precarious tenure; and it was obvious that the moment he ceased to overawe it by his personal presence, he would lose it altogether. He resolved, notwithstanding, to make this sacrifice;

for his paternal dominions were dearer to him than any new conquest, however valuable, and he could not brook the idea of having them dismembered by the perfidy of a brother. He accordingly set out towards Indijan, but he arrived only in time enough to learn that the officers to whom the defence of it was intrusted, had been induced, by a rumour of his death, to surrender, and that Jehangir had actually mounted the throne. Both Samarcand and Indijan were thus lost. Baber was now in the utmost distress, and applied for aid to his maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmood Khan. His brother Jehangir applied at the same time, and Mahmood, unwilling to interfere in the quarrels of his nephews, gave no assistance to either. Ultimately, however, he departed so far from this resolution as to take open part with Baber, who, after various vicissitudes, recovered his paternal kingdom in 1499. He even set out to attempt the recovery of Samarcand, but was only on the way when he received the mortifying intelligence that the Usbeks had anticipated him, and made themselves masters both of Samarcand and Bokhara.

A.D. 1499.

Mahmood
supports
Baber.

The consequence was, that he was not only frustrated in the hope of taking Samarcand, but again lost Ferghana, which had been overrun in his absence.

His only resource was to betake himself to the mountains, and wait there till fortune should again smile upon him. While almost disconsolate at the disasters which had befallen him, he lay down in a grove to sleep, and dreamed that Abdoilah, a dervis of great repute, called at his house. He invited him to sit down, and ordered a table-cloth to be spread for him; but the dervis, apparently offended, rose to go away. While Baber endeavoured to detain him, the dervis took hold of his arm, and lifted him up towards the sky. The dream is neither striking nor significant; but Baber and his followers regarded it as a promise of future good fortune, and determined, in consequence, to make another attempt on Samarcand.



USBEKS OF KHOONDOOZ, AND A KHOJAH OF USBEK
TALYSH. — From Raiter's *Afghanistan and Ephrasiata's Cabool*.

The capture of the city was one of the exploits on which Baber particularly plumed himself, and he dwells on it with evident exultation in his *Memoirs*. Here, however, only the leading facts can be mentioned. His small party mustered only 320 men, and yet with these he succeeded in making himself master of a large capital, occupied by warlike Usbeks, whom Sheebani Khan, a veteran general of high reputation, commanded. Having secretly arrived in the vicinity at midnight, he sent forward eighty of his party to a low part of the wall, which they immediately scaled by means of a grappling-rope. Going

Remarkable
recovery of
Samarcand.

Ca.
A.D. 1500.

afterwards round, they surprised and overpowered the guard in charge of one of the gates, opened it, and let in Baber with the 240 who were with him. They immediately rushed along the streets, proclaiming Baber's name as they passed. It carried a charm with it to the ears of many of the inhabitants, who immediately rallied around him, while the Usbeks ran confusedly from place to place, ignorant both of the position and numbers of their assailants. When the alarm reached the head-quarters, Sheebani Khan, who occupied the fort with 7000 men, set out with a small body to reconnoitre, and on finding that Baber had gained some thousands of the inhabitants, who were rending the air with acclamations, was so frightened that he took the opposite gate, and fled towards Bokhara. Baber obtained quiet possession.

Baber
defeated
by the
Usbeks.

Baber was aware that the victory was only half won so long as the Usbeks maintained their footing in the country, and he laboured to unite the neighbouring chiefs in a general coalition for the purpose of expelling them. Owing to dissensions and jealousies, his exertions were unavailing, and he was left to fight single-handed with his formidable foes. They proved more than a match for him; and he sustained a defeat which obliged him to shut himself up within the walls. Here he defended himself till he suffered all the horrors of famine, and saw no resource but to take advantage of the night, and escape with about 100 faithful attendants. This flight took place in the beginning of 1501, and he was once more a homeless wanderer. He found an asylum with his uncle, Sultan Mahmood Khan, who gave him the town of Aratiba for his residence. Here his relentless enemy, Sheebani Khan, found him out, and he removed to Tashkend, where he remained for some time in a state of despondency. At length an opening appeared in his hereditary kingdom, and by the aid of his two uncles he obtained possession of Akhsi, one of its strongest forts. It was only a gleam of sunshine before the coming storm. Sheebani Khan again appeared, and conquered as before. In addition to his own misfortune, Baber had the misery to see his uncles involved in his fate. They were both taken prisoners, and released only at the expense of their kingdoms. Sultan Mahmood Khan was unable to bear up under the stroke, and his health began to decline. One of his friends, hinting that Sheebani Khan had poisoned him, offered some tiriak of Khutta, a medicine which was then in high repute as an antidote. The sultan replied, "Yes! Sheebani Khan has poisoned me indeed! He has taken away my kingdom, which it is not in the power of your tiriak of Khutta to restore."

Becomes
master of
Cabool and
Kandahar.

Baber had at one time some thoughts of trying his fortune in China. His own country, at all events, seemed shut against him, and he quitted it for ever. But he had no intention of closing his career. Though he had seen much of the world, and experienced many reverses, he had only attained the age when most men begin to make their appearance in the public stage of life. He was little more than twenty, and was borne up by the belief, which conscious talent and

great natural buoyancy of spirits suggested, that some great destiny awaited him. In 1504 he took the direction of the east, where he saw no field of enterprise so promising as Cabool, which had fallen into a state of anarchy. It had once been ruled by his father, and subsequently by his uncle, Ulugh Beg, who had died in 1501, leaving an infant son. The minister took the whole government into his own hands, but soon disgusted the nobles, and was assassinated. Great convulsions followed, and Cabool became a common prey to dissensions within, and invasion from without. A foreign usurper was on the throne when Baber arrived. He found little difficulty in displacing him; and though his cousin, the above son of Ulugh Beg, was still alive, he regarded the kingdom as a lawful conquest, and ruled it in his own name. His ambition was not yet satisfied, and, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, he made himself master of Kandahar. It would seem that at this early period his thoughts were turned to Hindoostan, and the invasion of it was openly talked of and discussed in his court. Various circumstances, however, concurred to postpone any actual preparations.

A.D. 1518.

The earliest of these was the appearance of the restless and implacable Sheebani Khan, who drove Baber from Kandahar, and re-seated the former ruler. Sheebani Khan, having ultimately met his master in Shah Ismael Sophi of Persia, was defeated and slain. Baber immediately proposed an alliance with the shah, by whose aid he hoped to regain his former dominions. Nor was he disappointed. With an army of 60,000 horse, partly furnished by the Persian monarch, he took Khoondooz, subdued Bokhara, and in 1511 was seated for the third time on the throne of Samarcand. Here he fixed his residence, and left Cabool to be governed under him by his brother, Nasir Mirza. This return of prosperity was short-lived; for he was immediately engaged in a series of sanguinary struggles with the Usbeks. These were generally to his disadvantage; and in 1518 he arrived, shorn of all his new conquests, to resume the government of Cabool. His brother Nasir Mirza returned to his government of Ghuznee.

Baber forms
an alliance
with the
Shah of
Persia.

Baber had now been nearly twenty years King of Cabool, and during that long period had often turned a wistful eye to India. Other objects of ambition had repeatedly started up and tempted him to try his fortune in the west; but the difficulties had proved insurmountable, and the conviction had been forced upon him, that if his name was to descend to posterity as a great conqueror and mighty monarch, the east was the quarter in which he must gain his laurels. The times were favourable. The throne of Delhi had been occupied by a series of Afghan chiefs, who had never gained the affections of the people, and ruled only by the sword. While thus requiring all the aid which union could give, interminable feuds prevailed, and the succession was regulated not so much by the ordinary rules of relationship, as by court intrigue, faction, and assassination. Under this wretched system the kingdom had been broken up into fragments,

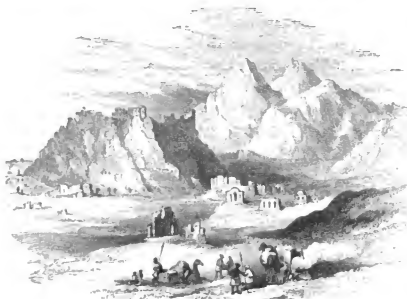
Prepares
to invade
India.

A.D. 1524. and Delhi exhibited merely a shadow of its former greatness. It was impossible not to perceive that a country thus ruled, and acknowledged at the same time to be one of the grandest, fairest, and richest regions of the globe, presented facilities and attractions to the conqueror far greater than the west could furnish; and the only wonder is, that a prince so talented and so ambitious as Baber should have remained so long on its frontiers without making an actual inroad into it.

Baber's first campaign.

Baber's first Indian campaign took place in 1519. On that occasion, after overrunning the territory between Cabool and the Indus, he crossed over into the Punjab, and advanced as far as Bhira. From this place he sent a message to Ibrahim Lody, the King of Delhi, reminding him that the Punjab had been frequently possessed by the house of Tamerlane, and demanding that to him, as a branch of that house, it should be voluntarily resigned, unless he was prepared to see the war carried farther into India. In this campaign he reached the Chenaub, and then returned to Cabool. His second Indian campaign was made in the course of the same year. His main object was to reduce Lahore, but after reaching Peshawer, and advancing to the Indus, intelligence of an invasion of Budukshan by the King of Cashgar compelled him to return. He marched a third time against India in 1520, and had reached Sealkote when he learned that his presence was immediately required to defend his capital against an invasion from Kandahar. He had not only repulsed the invader, but pursued him to Kandahar,

and captured it, when, in 1524, Dowlut Khan sent the tempting invitation formerly mentioned. In compliance with it, Baber advanced to the neighbourhood of Lahore, which he entered in triumph, after gaining a signal victory. Dowlut Khan having afterwards turned against him, he found his prospects of success so seriously affected,



KANDAHAR.—From Sale's Defence of Jelalabad.

that he rested satisfied with appointing governors over the districts which he had conquered, and again returned home.

Defeat of Ala-u-din

Ala-u-din Lody, the brother of Ibrahim Lody, King of Delhi, had been left in command of the Cabool forces, and for a time was so successful, that he pushed forward to the vicinity of Delhi. Here he seemed to have gained a

victory, till his own carelessness and the want of discipline turned it into a complete defeat, and obliged him to retire precipitately into the Punjab. Baber, on hearing of the disaster, immediately bestirred himself, and made his appearance in India. This was his fifth, and proved his most decisive Indian campaign. A D. 1526.

His force was comparatively small. After crossing the Indus on the 15th of December, 1525, he mustered it, and found that he had only 10,000 chosen horse. At Sealkote, however, he was joined by Ala-u-din, and thus obtained a considerable reinforcement. The first appearance of opposition was on the part of Dowlut Khan, and his son Ghazy Khan, who had again espoused the cause of the King of Delhi, and were encamped on the banks of the Ravee, near Lahore, with an army of 40,000. They were afraid to risk an action, and, as Baber advanced, retreated—the former to Malwat, and the latter to the hills. Baber immediately invested Malwat, and obliged it to capitulate in a few days. On this occasion he generously forgave Dowlut Khan, and exerted himself in restraining the rapacity of his troops, who, as soon as the gates were opened, broke in, and commenced an indiscriminate plunder. Rushing in among them, he at great personal risk rescued a lady belonging to Dowlut Khan's family, whom a ruffian had seized, and saved a fine library which had been collected by Ghazy Khan, who was a poet and a man of learning. Baber's
successes.

The dissensions which prevailed at Delhi, and the invitations which he received from the malcontents, induced him to advance without delay. He experienced little serious opposition till Ibrahim himself advanced to meet him, at the head of 10,000 horse and 1000 elephants. Baber's army was not a fifth of this number; but every man in it was a soldier highly disciplined, attached to his chief, and resolved to conquer or die; whereas the Delhi force was a heterogeneous mass, composed of the most discordant materials. The result was not long doubtful, and Ibrahim himself was among the slain. This battle, which was fought on the 20th of April, 1526, decided the fate of Hindoostan. Baber did not fail to make the most of his victory. He immediately despatched his son Hoomayoon to occupy Agra, and another detachment to march rapidly on Delhi, while he followed with the main body. His entrance was unopposed, and he took formal possession as sovereign. The fort of Agra offered some resistance; but the terror of the Mogul arms was now so general, that the Rajpoots who defended it offered to capitulate. Instead of levying a ransom from individuals, Baber consented to accept of a diamond, weighing 672 carats, which he presented to his son Hoomayoon. On entering the Delhi treasury, he appears to have been astonished at the amount, and immediately began to distribute it with the greatest profusion, as if he had imagined it inexhaustible. Not satisfied with making rich presents to all his chiefs, and even to the merchants who followed his camp, he made large donations to holy places in various countries, and caused a *sharookh* to be given to every man, woman, and child in the kingdom of Cabool, without distinction of slave or free. The gift to each Capture of
Agra and
Delhi.

A.D. 1530 was rather less than a shilling, but the aggregate sum must have been enormous. His prodigality on this occasion procured him the nickname of "Callender," after a religious order whose rule is to make no provision for the morrow.

Baber makes India his permanent residence Had Baber been intending, like Tamerlane, to quit India, this squandering of the treasury might easily have been explained, and even justified, on grounds of policy; but the folly of the proceeding seems extreme, when it is considered that he from the first regarded it as a permanent conquest, and determined to make Delhi his future capital. The question had undergone formal discussion after the capture, and many of his most experienced officers, contrasting the smallness of his army with the threatening appearance which the Afghans still continued to present in various quarters, were urgent for his return to Cabool, or at least retreat to the Punjab; but he at once put an end to all their remonstrances, by exclaiming, "What would all the Mahometan kings in the world say of a monarch whom the fear of death obliged to abandon such a kingdom!"

His difficulties and dangers. The idea of departure being abandoned, it required all Baber's skill and energy to make good his position. Several Afghan competitors connected with the late royal family were set up against him, and sanguinary battles were fought, generally, however, to his advantage. As a necessary consequence, his cause advanced, while that of his enemies rapidly declined; and many who had stood aloof, with the intention of ultimately joining the winning side, made their submission. But his greatest dangers were not in the field; for those who feared to encounter him there, did not scruple at any means which promised to be successful. One of the most flagrant attempts made on his life was by the mother of Ibrahim Lody, the late sovereign. She had become his captive, and he had treated her with great respect and kindness; but the destruction which he had brought on her family was not to be forgiven, and she bribed Baber's taster and cook to poison some hare-soup intended for him. He actually partook of it, but the poisoning having been overdone, affected the taste, and he desisted in time to save his life.

Premature old age and death. Baber was still in the full vigour of life, and might, in the course of nature, have been expected to have a long career before him; but he had crowded the events of a lifetime into a comparatively short period, and began to exhibit symptoms of a premature old age. Fever after fever attacked him; and, beginning to feel his end approaching, he sent for his son Hoomayoon, and appointed him his successor. A few months after, on the 24th of December, 1530, he breathed his last. He had reigned thirty-eight years, but of these only five were spent on the throne of Delhi. Considering the shortness of the period, it is wonderful how much had been accomplished in it. Not only had Afghan insurrections been put down, and the whole Mahometan population reconciled to the new dynasty, but great battles had been fought, and great victories gained over insurgent Hindoos. After Mewar, Malwah, and Mewat had been subdued, Behar, on both sides of the Ganges, was overrun, and the

King of Bengal barely saved his independence by submitting to an ignominious peace. The throne of the Great Mogul was thus not only set up, but seemed to be firmly established. A.D. 1550.

The love of nature, which Baber retained in all its freshness to the very last, and of which many touching instances are recorded by himself, appeared in his selection of a final resting-place. It was in the vicinity of Cabool, on the banks of a clear running stream, at the foot of a hill commanding a noble prospect.



TOMB OF EMPEROR BABER.—From Atkinson's Sketches in Afghanistan.

There his tomb still stands, and in front of it a small but chaste mosque of white marble. His character is best learned from his *Memoirs* or *Autobiography*, in which his opinions and feelings are candidly expressed, and a full insight is given into the conduct both of the monarch and the man. Few lives so full of vicissitudes and temptations would bear to be so minutely investigated, and suffer so little from the investigation. Take him all in all,

Baber's autobiography.

in his varied and seldom combined capacities as a writer, a soldier, and a ruler, it must be admitted that his proper place is among the greatest men whom the East has produced. It is almost needless to say that both his public and his private life exhibit blemishes. Among those of the former description may be mentioned his folly in squandering the treasure found in Delhi; and among those of the latter, his bacchanalian habits, which he is said not to have abandoned till they had made serious inroads on his constitution.



WHITE MARBLE MOSQUE at the Tomb of Emperor Baber.
From Vigne's Visit to Ghazni.

doned till they had made serious inroads on his constitution.

Baber left four sons. The second, Kamran, who at the time of his father's

¹ The small but very elegant white marble mosque at the tomb of Sultan Baber, was built in 1640, by Shah Jehan, in honour of his great ancestor.—Vigne's Visit to Ghazni.

A.D. 1530

Hoomayoon
succeeds
Baber.

death was governor of Cabool and Kandahar, not only retained possession of them, but made good a claim to the Punjab. The two youngest sons were at first contented to hold governments in India under Hoomayoon, who, as eldest son, and by Baber's special appointment, mounted the throne of Delhi. He soon found it anything but a bed of roses. The cession of the Punjab to Kamran, without any effort to preserve it, was a kind of premium offered to aggression, which was accordingly attempted in various quarters. The first contest was with Bahadur Shah, King of Gujerat, who had rendered himself formidable by the annexation of Malwah, and the establishment of his supremacy over several adjoining territories. The ostensible cause of quarrel was the protection given by Bahadur Shah to Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who had taken refuge with him after a rebellion against his brother-in-law, Hoomayoon, had failed. During a series of struggles, with various alternations of success, Bahadur first lost, and then recovered his kingdom.

Siege of
Chunar.

The next formidable opponent who appeared was Sheer Khan Sur, who had made himself master both of Behar and Bengal. Hoomayoon advanced



THE CHUNAR-GHUR, from the South-west.—From Hodge's Views in India.

against him from Agra, and arrived with a powerful army before the fort of Chunar, near Benares, in the beginning of 1538. Sheer Khan had been taken somewhat by surprise, and as his object, therefore, was to gain time, he left Chunar strongly garrisoned, and retired farther into the interior. Hoomayoon did not venture to advance while the enemy possessed such a place in his rear, and resolved to lay siege to it. He was thus detained for several months, and only succeeded at last because the provisions of the garrison were exhausted. This siege derives importance from the regular manner in which it was conducted, and the great use made of gunpowder and artillery, both by besiegers and besieged.

Hoomayoon
defeated.

Hoomayoon now advanced along the Ganges, but Sheer Khan continued to pursue his tactics of not risking a general engagement, and only offering such

resistance as might suffice to protract the advance. Hoomayoon ought now to have become perfectly aware of the trap which was laid for him, and been satisfied to select some strong position, at least till the rainy season was over. Instead of this, he found himself in the lower basin of the Ganges when its whole delta was flooded, and every brook had swollen into an impassable torrent. Meanwhile Sheer Khan, by a dexterous movement, placed himself in his rear, and cut off his retreat. The King of Delhi was at last alive to his perilous condition, and endeavoured to elude his enemy by preparing boats to cross over to the other side of the Ganges. While thus occupied, he allowed himself to be completely surprised, and had barely time to mount his horse and make for the river. He immediately plunged in, but his steed, after bearing him nobly for a while, sunk exhausted. His fate would have been the same, had not a water-carrier, who was crossing, by the aid of the water-skin, which he had inflated for that purpose, seized him before he sunk, and carried him to the opposite bank. He reached Agra in the end of June, 1539, but his whole army had perished, and his queen was Sheer Khan's captive.

Hoomayoon made the best use of his escape; and, by the aid of his brothers, Kamran and Hindal, who, after taking very suspicious measures, had become cordially united with him, kept the enemy at bay. By the spring of 1540 he thought himself strong enough for a new campaign. The armies came in sight of each other, and continued for some time manœuvring, till Hoomayoon, alarmed at some symptoms of desertion, determined to risk a general engagement. It proved disastrous; and in the flight which ensued, his escape was

as extraordinary as before. His horse was wounded, and he was on the point of being killed or taken, when he found an elephant, mounted it, and hastened to the Ganges. The driver hesitated to swim the river, and gave place to an eunuch who undertook the task. He reached the opposite bank in safety, but, on account of its height, could not land, till two soldiers who happened to be present joined their turbans, and throwing one end to him, drew him up. His

A.D. 1540.

Narrow
escape of
Hoomayoon

BIBIHEE OR WATER-CARRIER.¹—FROM LUARD'S
Views in India.

His second
defeat and
escape.

¹ The bag which the Bibihee carries on his back, is called a musk of panee, or skin full of water. It is a goat-skin carefully sewed up, and made perfectly tight; a valve being left open at one end, which he holds in his hand to enable him to guide the water into porous earthenware bottles, in which it is placed

to cool. Some Bibihees go about leading a bullock with two large skins of water for sale, slung across the animal's back, and nearly reaching to the ground. In the back-ground to our engraving, men are represented filling skins so slung. *Bibihee* means *heavily*.

A D 1543 situation was now hopeless; and he had only time to remove his family and his treasure from Agra and Delhi, and hasten off with them to Lahore. Here his reception was not very gracious, as his brother Kamran feared he might prove a dangerous competitor, and was also preparing to make his peace with Sheer Khan, by ceding the Punjab to him.

Subsequent
fortunes of
Hoomayoon

Hoomayoon, thus abandoned by his brother, turned his thoughts to Scinde, and endeavoured, partly by persuasion and partly by force, to obtain possession of it. He failed; and then threw himself on the protection of the Rajah of Marwar. To accomplish this he was obliged to cross the desert, and even there had the mortification to perceive that the rajah was only meditating how he might best deliver him to his enemies. Flight into the desert was again his only resource. While wandering here, encumbered with the women of his family, a body of horse was seen approaching. They were headed by the son of the Rajah of Marwar. Nothing short of death or captivity was foreboded; but after a great show of hostility, the rajah's son apparently relented, furnished them with water, and allowed them to proceed. The horrors of the desert were still before them; and at last Hoomayoon, with only seven attendants, reached Amerkote.

He reaches
Amerkote.

Here he was not only hospitably entertained, but furnished with the means of making a second attempt upon Scinde. It might have succeeded, but the rajah who accompanied him, indignant at obtaining no redress for an insult which he had received, suddenly withdrew with all his Hindoo followers. His position was now desperate, and he was only too glad to make an arrangement which permitted him to withdraw from Scinde and set out for Kandahar. This province belonged to Kamran, and was then held for him by one of his younger brothers. Hoomayoon, travelling with his wife and an infant child, afterwards the celebrated Emperor Akber, had arrived within 130 miles of his destination, when one of his old adherents rode hastily up, and gave him the startling intelligence that his brother Mirza Askari was at hand, with the intention of making him prisoner. He had only time to mount the queen behind him, and take to flight. The infant could not be thus carried, and fell, with his attendants, into the hands of his uncle. Hoomayoon continued his flight with a few followers till he arrived within the Persian dominions. He was sent to Herat to await the shah's orders.

Sheer Khan
seated on
the throne
of Delhi

Sheer Khan, on Hoomayoon's flight, made a kind of triumphant progress, and was soon in possession of all the territories which had acknowledged the authority of the King of Delhi. His reign, or usurpation as it is sometimes called, though his title was at least as good as Baber's, had been commenced in 1540. During the three following years he made himself master of Malwah, Marwar, and Mewar, and was carrying on the siege of Callinjer, in 1545, when he was killed by the explosion of a powder magazine. His eldest son, Adil Khan, had previously been recognized by him as his successor; but the feebleness of his character induced the chiefs to set him aside, and give the throne to his

brother, Jelal Khan, who assumed the title of Selim Shah. His reign, which lasted nine years, during which several important internal improvements were made, and public works erected, was on the whole peaceful. He left a son of the age of twelve, but he was murdered by his uncle, Mahomed Khan, who usurped the throne, and is known by the title of Adili. His conduct on the throne was such as might have been expected after the atrocity by which he had gained it, and he made himself universally odious by his follies and iniquities. For a time, however, the abilities of Hemoo, a Hindoo of low origin, to whom he had committed the government, kept him on his seat; and he pursued a course of utter lawlessness, first squandering his treasury, and then indiscriminately confiscating the property of his subjects, in order to procure the means of indulging in his extravagances and low debaucheries. After he had narrowly escaped the dagger of an assassin, a confederacy was formed against him. It failed in the first instance, but other revolts were successful; and Ibrahim Sur, making himself master of Delhi and Agra, Adili was left in possession only of the eastern provinces. Ibrahim, having in his turn been driven out of Delhi and Agra by Sikundur Sur, who had proclaimed himself King of the Punjab, endeavoured to compensate himself by wresting some more territory from Adili, but was repulsed by Hemoo. This success did not at all improve his condition, for intelligence immediately arrived that Bengal and Malwah had both revolted, and that Hoomayoon, who had returned, had defeated Sikundur, and was once more seated in Delhi. This last intelligence proved the most fatal of all; for though Hoomayoon soon died, his son Akber succeeded, and brought the Mogul empire to its highest pitch of glory. Adili was maintained for some time by Hemoo; but on that Hindoo's death his success was at an end, and he lost his life fighting in Bengal.

Gr.
A.D. 1546.

Jelal Khan
succeeded.



SHEER SHAH'S MAUSOLEUM AT SASARAM.¹—From Daniell's Oriental Annual.

Usurpation
of Mahomed
Khan or
Adili.

Hoomayoon's reception by Shah Tamasp, the second of the Safavi or Sophi Kings of Persia, had been on the whole favourable, though accompanied with

¹ Sheer Shah's mausoleum at Sasaram, near Benares, is built in the midst of a large tank, about a mile in circumference. The building is rapidly falling to decay, and the stone is now greatly discoloured by age. The remains of Sheer Shah, with those of several

members of his family, were deposited in the lower story of the mausoleum. The central apartment is an octagon, 100 feet in diameter, standing on a massive square terrace, each angle of which is ornamented with an octagonal kiosk.

A.D. 1548. many mortifying circumstances. Before he could obtain any assistance, he was obliged to cede the province of Kandahar, and adopt the Shiite form of Mahometanism. After these concessions, he was furnished with a body of 14,000 horse, under the command of the shah's son, Morad Mirza. His own followers mustered only about 700. He first proceeded against Kandahar, which he reached in March, 1545. It was in possession of Mirza Askari, as governor of his other brother, Kamran. The siege was immediately commenced, but proceeded languidly for five months, at the end of which desertion and famine obliged Mirza Askari to surrender. Hoomayoon, probably soured by misfortune, forgot the humanity which had formed the best feature in his character; and, disregarding the promise of pardon which he had given, subjected his brother to the most contumelious treatment, and then kept him nearly three years as a prisoner in chains. He also violated his agreement with the shah, by keeping Kandahar to himself, and maltreating his Persian auxiliaries.

Hoomayoon
recovers
Kandahar.

He recovers
Cabool.

From Kandahar he proceeded against Cabool, and expelled Kamran, who was obliged to take refuge in Scinde. The capture was the more gratifying that it enabled him to recover his son Akber, now a child of about three years of age. After a time Kamran returned, and a series of struggles took place, during which the greatest barbarities were perpetrated on both sides; and Akber, who had again fallen into the enemy's hands, escaped almost miraculously, after his uncle had, with savage cruelty, exposed him to the full fire of his father's cannon. Kamran was ultimately defeated and obliged again to flee; but, by the aid of the Usbeks, obtained possession of Budukshan. Thither Hoomayoon followed. He was victorious, and returned in triumph to Cabool in the end of 1548. His affairs now assumed so promising an appearance that he began to talk of attempting the conquest of Transoxiana; but his bad fortune returned, and in a battle with Kamran, who had once more taken the field, he sustained a total defeat. On this occasion he made another of his remarkable escapes. A soldier had wounded him, and was about to repeat the blow, when he was so confounded by the sternness with which Hoomayoon exclaimed, "Wretch! how dare you?" that he dropped his arm and let him escape. He fled with only eleven attendants, while Akber again fell into his uncle's hands. Another turn in the wheel of fortune placed Hoomayoon in the ascendent, and Kamran became his prisoner. The manner in which he disposed of him is a great blot on his memory. At first he gave him a most friendly reception, seated him on his right hand, feasted him, shared half of his slice of water-melon with him, and spent the evening with him in "jollity and carousing." In the morning his peremptory orders were to put out his brother's eyes. They were executed, Kamran exclaiming during the agony of the torture, "O Lord, my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next." He died soon after at Mecca, where he had wished to end his days.

New
vicissitudes

In the meantime circumstances in India had become favourable, and Hoomayoon, setting out from Cabool in January, 1555, at the head of 15,000 horse, invaded the Punjab and took Lahore. After some delay he continued his march, obliged Sikundur Shah to take refuge among the lower ranges of the Himalaya, and made himself master of Delhi and Agra. He had thus regained possession of his capital and a portion of his original territories, but was not destined long to enjoy them. His life had been the sport of fortune—his death was to resemble it. He had only been six months in Delhi, and was one day, after a walk on the terrace of his library, descending by the stair, which was placed on the outside, and consisted of narrow steps, guarded only by a parapet about a foot high. Hearing the call to prayer from the minaret, he stopped, as is usual, repeated his creed, and sat down to wait till the muezzin had made his round. In rising, his staff by which he was supporting himself slipped, and he fell headlong over the parapet. He was taken up insensible, and died four days after, on the 25th of January, 1556, at the age of fifty-one. He had commenced his reign twenty-five years before, but sixteen of these had been spent in exile from his capital.

A.D. 1556.

Hoomayoon again master of Delhi and Agra

His death.

As Hoomayoon's reign reached to the middle of the sixteenth century, it may be considered as forming the link between mediæval and modern India. It will be proper, therefore, before continuing the narrative, to take a survey of the political condition of India at this period.

In the reign of Mahomed Toghlok, which commenced in 1325, almost the whole of India proper—understanding by that name both Hindoostan and the Deccan—was subject to Mahometan sway. The chief territories not thus subject were a long narrow tract in the south-west of the peninsula, the kingdom of Orissa, consisting of an unexplored and densely wooded region, stretching for about 500 miles along the coast from the Ganges to the Godavery, with a medium width of about 350 miles; and Rajpootana in the north-west, consisting of a number of independent chieftainships, of which the limits cannot easily be assigned, as they were constantly changing in their dimensions, according as the Mahometan invaders or the native chiefs gained the ascendancy. Before the termination of Mahomed Toghlok's reign, in 1351, the extent of his dominions had shrunk exceedingly, in consequence of his misgovernment. In 1340 Bengal threw off its yoke, and became an independent kingdom; in 1344, the example was imitated by the Rajahs of Telingana and Carnata, the former recovering his capital of Wurungole, and the latter establishing a new capital at Bijanagur, on the Toombudra; while the Mahometans were obliged to rest satisfied with a frontier which extended no farther south than the banks of the Krishna, and no farther east than the meridian of Hyderabad. In 1347, a Hindoo movement on a still more extended scale took place, and the Mahometans were driven across the Nerbudda. Hassan Gangu, the head of this last movement, founded in the Deccan the extensive kingdom of Bahmani, which continued to subsist

Political state of India.

A. D. 1556.

for 170 years. While the Hindoo rajahs remained united, the Mahometans strove in vain to regain what they had lost, and made scarcely any impression; but when they began again to indulge in internal dissensions, the Mahometans again extended their conquests, subdued Wurungole, and obtained possession of the country between the Krishna and the Toombudra.

Independent
sovereign-
ties in Hin-
doostan

In Hindoostan and the adjoining territories, various kingdoms independent of Delhi were established. Among these, one of the most extensive and durable was Gujerat, which, instead of being confined to the territory which bore that name, extended over Malwah, which was twice conquered, and finally annexed to it. The Rajpoots of Mewar also repeatedly bent before it, and Candeish acknowledged its supremacy. Hoomayoon occupied it for a short time, but it soon recovered itself, and was independent at the accession of his son Akber. Malwah, before it fell under the power of Gujerat, had long maintained a separate independence, and for some time was under the domination of a Hindoo, who, though not the nominal, was virtually the real sovereign, and filled all the highest offices with his own countrymen. Bengal has been already mentioned; and, besides it, Candeish, Jounpore, Scinde, and Mooltan were all independent at Akber's succession. Of the Rajpoot states, the most important which were independent at the same period, are Mewar, ruled by the Ranas of Odeypoor, though at one time reduced to a kind of vassalage under Gujerat—Marwar, held by the Rhahtors, who, after being driven out of Canouge, where they had early established themselves, retired to the desert between the table-land and the Indus, subdued the Juts, the original inhabitants, and extended their dominion over a large territory, throwing off a younger branch, which afterwards formed the separate state of Bicanere—Jessulmeer, where the Bhattis had made their settlement in the western part of the desert, at so early a period that their history is lost in fable—and Amber, or Jeypoor, possessed by the tribe of Cachwaha, who do not figure much in early times, but have a proof of their importance in the fact that Akber married their rajah's daughter. Besides these are many minor states in the desert and along the east of the table-land. In the north, along the slopes of the Hinnalaya, from Cashmere east to the highlands which overlook the delta of the Ganges, all the petty states were ruled by their own independent sovereigns.

Commence-
ment of a
new era.

Such was the state of matters when Akber came to the throne in 1556. His long and prosperous reign forms a new era in the history of India. It is of importance, however, to remember that before it commenced, another event, in which the future destiny of India was more deeply involved, had occurred. The route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered more than half a century before; and the Portuguese had set the first example of those European settlements which, imitated and improved upon, were afterwards to expand, under British energy and prowess, into a magnificent empire. To this great event, therefore, were we now to give our first attention, we should only be

following the order of time, but some advantages in respect of arrangement will be gained by continuing the thread of Mahometan narrative unbroken to the conclusion of Akber's reign. The empire of the Great Mogul, almost extinguished during the misfortunes of Hoomayoon, will thus be seen not only re-established, but raised to a degree of splendour which it never attained before; and it will, in consequence, be unnecessary, in tracing European progress, to be constantly turning aside in order to contemplate the internal changes which were at the same time taking place.

A.D. 1542.

CHAPTER VI.

Reign of Akber.



AKBER might be called a child of the desert, having been born at Amerkote, on the edge of it, on the 14th of October, 1542, after his parents, with a few followers, had traversed it as homeless wanderers, under almost unparalleled privations. Before he was a year old he became a captive in the hands of an uncle with whom his father was at war; and, while still a mere child, was barbarously placed in the most exposed position on the ramparts of Cabool, which was besieged, in the malicious expectation that some ball from the cannon of the besiegers would deprive him of life. His captivity was afterwards repeatedly renewed; but, as if he had been reserved for something great, he passed unharmed in the midst of danger, and made many hair-breadth escapes. If anything had been wanting to confirm the belief that a high destiny awaited him, it would have been found in the remarkable talents which he began, at an early age, to display. Such were the expectations which he had excited, and the confidence reposed in him, that he was sent into the Punjab in the command of an army, and gained distinction on the field of battle. At this time he must have been a mere boy, for when his father died he was only in his

Akber's
early
history.

CABOOL.—Atkinson's Sketches in Afghanistan.

A D. 1556. fourteenth year. When the melancholy tidings reached him he was absent on this command. The necessary steps were immediately taken, and he was forthwith proclaimed as lawful possessor of the throne. There was no rival in his own family to dispute it with him; but in Behram Khan, a Toorkoman who had stood high in his father's confidence, and also been his own tutor, he found a minister who seemed determined to leave him little more than a nominal sovereignty. Behram's talents were of the highest order; and he probably retained the power not for any treasonable purpose, but merely because he had persuaded himself that the interest of his youthful sovereign would thereby be most effectually promoted.

Behram
rules in Ak-
ber's name.

Akber's
throne in
danger.

Akber was not the kind of person to be long kept in leading-strings, though he had prudence enough not to take any decisive step for the purpose of escaping from thralldom till he was sure that he would be able to give effect to it. At first, therefore, he left Behram undisturbed, and readily consented to all the measures which he recommended. It is probable that in this way he was a considerable gainer; for Behram's experience was great, and must have done much to extricate Akber from the difficulties which encompassed him at the very outset of his reign. In the Punjab, Sikundur Sur still kept his ground, and declared his determination to be satisfied with nothing short of the throne of Delhi; in Cabool, Mirza Soliman of Budukshan had made a sudden irruption, and made himself absolute master; and from an opposite direction, Hemoo, the talented Hindoo minister of the usurper Adili, was advancing towards Agra at the head of a powerful army. Against the last, as the most pressing danger, Behram and his young sovereign immediately took the field. It was almost too late; for the Mogul generals had sustained a severe defeat, and Hemoo had, in consequence, not only captured Agra, but forced his entrance into Delli.

He gains a
signal
victory at
Paniput.

The contest now about to be waged wore a very ominous aspect for Akber. His army at the utmost mustered only 20,000 horse, while that of the enemy exceeded 100,000. No wonder that many of the officers urged an instant retreat in the direction of Cabool. The minister and his sovereign stood alone when they resolved to risk the encounter. Some addition was made to Akber's force by the arrival of soldiers who had belonged to the defeated detachments, but when the armies met his was still far inferior in numbers. The decisive battle was fought near Paniput, on the 5th of November, 1556. Hemoo began the action with his elephants, and pushed forward with them into Akber's very centre; but these powerful and unwieldy animals acted as they almost invariably did when their first charge failed to produce a general panic. Furiously attacked on all sides by the Moguls, who galled them with lances, arrows, and javelins, they became unruly, and carried confusion into their own ranks. The day was thus quickly decided in Akber's favour; but Hemoo, mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still bravely continued the action, at the head of 4000 horse. An arrow pierced his eye and he sunk senseless into his howdah. A few moments

after, having come to himself, he plucked out the arrow, which is said to have brought the eye out along with it; and in the midst of this agony had the energy and presence of mind to attempt his escape by breaking through the enemy's line. He deserved to succeed, but unhappily failed, and was taken prisoner. On being brought back, Behram Khan urged Akber to gain the envied title of *Ghazy*, or Champion of the Faith, by killing him with his own hand. He had too much spirit to do the executioner's office. It would have been pleasing to add that he went a step farther, and magnanimously interposed his sovereign authority to save the Hindoo's life. Unfortunately, he left him to the will of Behram Khan, who cut off his head at a stroke.

A.D. 1560.

Heroism
of Hemoo,
a Hindoo.

Immediately after the victory Akber marched upon Delhi, and entered it without opposition. He had not remained long when his presence was imperatively required in the Punjab. Sikundur Shah, after defeating one of his generals, and obliging him to take refuge in Lahore, had advanced to Kalanore. On Akber's approach he retired to Mankote, and shut himself up in it. The siege was immediately commenced, and had lasted six months, when Sikundur Shah, who had been severely wounded, offered to capitulate. The terms bound him to evacuate the fort, and give his son as an hostage for his future behaviour. Akber was happy to be thus rid of his most formidable opponent in India.

Akber
re-enters
Delhi.

Behram Khan, instead of gradually retiring from power as his sovereign became more capable of exercising it, began to presume more than ever on his services; and, as if Akber's consent had not been worth the asking, proceeded of his own accord to pass sentence of death and banishment on individuals whom he regarded as his private enemies. One of the persons whom he banished was Molla Peer Mahomed, the king's own preceptor; and, as if to make the act more galling, he at once filled up the office which he had thus rendered vacant by appointing another preceptor in his stead. Akber was greatly incensed, and immediately prepared to adopt a measure which it is probable he had long meditated.

Arrogance
of Behram.

Having gone on a hunting party in the beginning of 1560, he received, or pretended to have received, a message from Delhi that his mother was extremely ill, and wished to see him. Immediately on arriving he issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and that in future no orders but those issued by his authority were to be obeyed. Behram at once saw what was intended, and endeavoured to avert his downfall, by sending two of his principal friends to make his submission in the humblest terms. Akber refused to see them, and shortly after imprisoned them. The disgraced minister soon found how little he could trust to those who had profited most by his prosperity, and saw himself rapidly deserted. Various schemes passed through his mind. At one time he thought of proceeding to Malwah and setting up an independent sovereignty; at another, of making this experiment in Bengal, where it might be easy to expel the Afghans. The prospect, in either

He is
dismissed,
and rebels.

A.D. 1560. case, did not seem very hopeful; and at last, as if he had abandoned all treasonable designs, he set out for Gujerat with the avowed intention of taking shipping and making a pilgrimage to Mecca. Having halted at Nagore, in the hope that the king's resentment might be withdrawn, he was deeply mortified on receiving a message which dismissed him from office, and ordered him to continue his pilgrimage without delay. The message is said to have been in the following terms:—"Till now our mind has been taken up with our education and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal will that you should regulate the affairs of our empire. But it being our intention henceforward to govern our people by our own judgment, let our wellwisher withdraw from all worldly concerns; and, retiring to Mecca, far removed from the toils of public life, spend the rest of his days in prayer."

Behram's
rebellion
fails.

He is
pardoned.

It seems that Behram Khan had been travelling with all the insignia of office; for, on receiving this message, he returned his state elephants, banners, and drums, and set out, shorn of his public honours, for Gujerat. Suddenly a new thought seemed to have struck him, for, on arriving at Bicanere, he stopped short and retraced his steps to Nagore. Here he began to collect troops, and gave such decided evidence of treasonable intentions, that Akber sent a body of troops against him. As they approached he retired into the Punjab, and openly raised the standard of revolt. He even fought one battle, but lost it, and retired into the mountains of Sewalik. Here the hopelessness of his cause, and perhaps also remorse for having engaged in it, combined in determining him to throw himself on Akber's mercy. He was at once forgiven; and some of the leading officers of the court were sent to receive him, and conduct him into the presence with every mark of distinction. On entering the court he hung his turban round his neck; and, advancing rapidly, threw himself in tears at the foot of the throne. Akber, giving him his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the nobles. A splendid dress was then given him; and the king, addressing him, offered him the choice of a place at court, a provincial government, or liberty to continue his pilgrimage with an escort suitable to his rank. Behram preferred the last, and set out for Mecca with a large retinue and an annual pension of about £5000. After reaching Gujerat, he halted in the suburbs of Puttun, and turned aside to visit a celebrated spot, called Sahasnak, from the thousand temples in its vicinity. Having hired a boat and a band of musicians, he spent all night on the lake in company with his friends. As he was returning in the morning he was accosted by an Afghan, who, pretending to embrace him, drew a dagger and pierced him to the heart. It was an act of revenge for the death of his father, who had fallen in battle by Behram's sword.

Akber soon showed that, in taking the government into his own hand, he had not presumed too much on his own talents. While success almost invariably attended his arms, his internal measures exhibited a model of liberal and

enlightened administration When he succeeded he possessed little more than the territory around Delhi and Agra, together with an imperfect and precarious hold of the Punjab. During Behram's regency Ajmeer was added to his dominions without a contest, the strong fort of Gwalior was captured, and the Afghans were driven as far east as Juampoor, after being dispossessed of Lucknow and a large tract of country on the Ganges. In 1560, shortly after the dismissal of Behram Khan, Akber, from a desire perhaps to signalize his full assumption of the reins of government, resolved to attempt the conquest of Malwah, and with that view despatched an army under the command of Adam Khan Atka. The principality was then in the possession of Baz Bahadur, who kept his court at Sarungpoor, where he had become so much the slave of indolence and pleasure, that the Moguls were within twenty miles of his capital before he could be roused to action. Even then his resistance was feeble; and his troops having been routed at the first onset, he fled for Boorlianpoor, leaving his property and family behind. These immediately fell into the hands of Adam Khan. He at once disposed of them as if he had been absolute master, sending only a few elephants to Akber, who was so much dissatisfied that he set out without delay to call him to account. Adam Khan, if he really entertained treasonable designs, found them completely frustrated by Akber's expedition, and hastened to make his peace. He had previously, by the indulgence of unbridled passion, been the cause of an affecting catastrophe.

A D. 1561.

Akber's
vigorous
and success-
ful reign.

One of the inmates of the harem was a Hindoo of surpassing beauty, highly accomplished, and celebrated as a poetess. After endeavouring in vain to resist the importunities and violence of Adam Khan, she pretended to yield, and fixed the hour of meeting. When he arrived it was only to behold her corpse. Immediately after the appointment she had retired to her chamber, put on her most splendid dress, sprinkled the richest perfumes, and taken poison. Her attendants, seeing her lie down on her couch and cover her face with her mantle, thought she had fallen asleep, and did not become aware of the real fact till, on the khan's approach, they attempted to waken her.

A tragical
death.

Akber returned to Agra, and shortly after made Mahomed Khan Atka, governor of the Punjab, his prime minister, and conferred the government of Malwah on his old preceptor, Peer Mahomed Khan, whom Behram Khan had, in a fit of jealousy, driven into exile. In 1561, while on a visit to a celebrated shrine in Ajmeer, Akber married the daughter of Poorunmul, Rajah of Jeypoor, and enrolled both the rajah and his son among the nobles of his court. This is said to be the first instance in which a Hindoo chief was ennobled or placed in any position of high trust under the government of the Great Mogul. Akber, before quitting Ajmeer, despatched Mirza Shurf-u-din Hoossein to invest the fort of Merta, belonging to Maldo, Rajah of Marwar; and then set out for Agra with such expedition that, by taking only six attendants, and travelling without interruption, he performed the distance of above 200 miles in three days.

Akber
married a
Hindoo.

A D. 1561.

Siege of
Merta.

The siege of Merta proved more difficult than had been anticipated. Two of the principal Rajpoot chiefs of Marwar had thrown themselves into it, and conducted the defence with so much skill and valour that the mirza's operations, though carried on with great vigour, were completely baffled. After carrying mines under one of the bastions, and making a practicable breach, he advanced to the assault, but was repulsed. In the morning, when he was preparing to renew the assault, he found that in the course of the night the breach had been built up. Some months had thus passed away when want of provisions compelled the garrison to capitulate. Favourable terms were given; but one of the rajahs disdaining to accept of them, collected 500 of his followers, and, after burning whatever they could not take with them, rushed out and cut their way through the enemy. About half the number succeeded; the rest perished.

Struggle in
Malwah.

The war with Baz Bahadur, in Malwah, still continued, though he was at last so closely pressed that he was obliged to seek a refuge at Boorhanpoor, within the limits of Candeish. Still, however, he had no thoughts of peace, and not only kept the country in a constant state of ferment and alarm by frequent incursions, but by means of an alliance with the rulers of Candeish and Berar, was enabled to take the field with so powerful an army that the Moguls were obliged to retreat before it. Peer Mahomed Khan fell back on Beezygur; when, contrary to the advice of his officers, he resolved to risk an engagement. He was defeated, and lost his life in attempting to cross the Nerbudda; while Baz Bahadur continued the pursuit as far as Agra, and once more became master of all Malwah in 1561. His triumph was short-lived, for the governor of Kalpee, being appointed to the command, expelled him a second time, and obliged him to flee to the mountains.

Rivalship
among
Akber's
officers.

One of the greatest difficulties with which Akber had to contend, arose from rivalry and strife among his leading officers. Mahomed Khan Atka, who had been appointed minister at Delhi with the title of Shahab-u-din, was high in favour at court. For this he was hated by Adam Khan Khoka, who endeavoured to undermine him; and for this purpose had recourse to intrigues, which only issued in his own disgrace. He determined on revenge; and one day, while the minister was sitting in the hall of audience reading the Koran, entered and saluted him. The minister continued, as was usual in such circumstances, to read on without taking any notice of his entrance, and Adam Khan, whether from momentary impulse or premeditation, drew his dagger and stabbed him to the heart. Akber was sleeping in one of the inner apartments, and, hearing the noise and ascertaining the cause, rushed out in his sleeping dress. There lay the minister weltering in his blood, while the murderer stood, as if stupified by his own atrocity, on an adjoining terrace. Akber's first impulse was to draw his sword and put him to death, but, recollecting himself, he returned the sword to its scabbard. Adam Khan took advantage of the interval to clasp

the king's hand and beg for mercy; but he shook him off in disgust, and ordered his attendants to do summary justice by flinging him over the parapet.

About this time Akber himself narrowly escaped assassination. A famous chief of Turkestan, called Mirza Shurf-u-din Hoosein, arriving from Lahore at Agra, was received at court with great distinction; but shortly after, being suspected of treasonable designs, fled to Ajmeer and went into rebellion. On the advance of the royal army he retreated to the frontiers of Gujerat. One of his retainers, who happened to be in the neighbourhood of Delhi when the royal retinue was passing along the road, joined it; and, looking upwards, fixed an arrow in his bow and pointed it towards the sky, as if he were going to shoot at some object in the air. The attendants, thinking he was aiming at a bird, did not interfere, and he had time to lower the bow and lodge the arrow deep in the flesh of Akber's shoulder. The assassin was immediately cut to pieces, and the arrow was with some difficulty extracted. The wound, though deep, did not prove serious, and healed over in about ten days.

Cis.
A. D. 1561.

Akber
escapes as-
sination.

Shortly after Akber set out from Agra on a hunting excursion. This was his ostensible object, but his real design was to nip in the bud an insurrection which was meditated by Abdollah Khan Usbek, the governor of Malwah. He accordingly turned suddenly aside, and, in spite of the rainy season, made an incursion into that province. He had only reached Oojein when Abdollah Khan, taking guilt to himself, marched off with his forces and treasure for Gujerat. Akber chivalrously pursued with a small body of horse, but met with so much opposition that he was obliged to fall back on Mando. The annoyance caused by this Usbek was said to have given Akber a rooted dislike to the whole race; and it was generally rumoured that he meant to seize and imprison all the Usbek chiefs. The consequence was a general Usbek revolt. In a short time the insurgents mustered 40,000 horse, with which they ravaged the territories of Berar and Juanpoor. One of the leaders of the revolt was Asuf Khan Heroy, governor of Kurra. Shortly after his appointment he obtained permission to subdue a country called Gurrah, which was at the time governed by Doorgawutty, a ranee or Hindoo queen, as celebrated for beauty as for ability. The aggression appears to have been unprincipled, for the only reason assigned for it is that Asuf Khan had heard of the riches of Gurrah. After several predatory excursions he invaded it with a force of about 6000 horse and infantry. The queen opposed him with an army of 8000 horse and foot, and 1500 elephants. The battle was sanguinary and well contested, till the queen, who was mounted on an elephant, was struck by an arrow in the eye and disabled from giving orders. Determined not to fall into the hands of the enemy, she plucked a dagger from the girdle of her elephant driver and stabbed herself. Her capital was immediately taken by storm, and her infant son trampled to death. Asuf Khan obtained an immense booty in gold and jewels, but sent only a small part to the royal treasury, and was thus able, on joining the revolt, to add largely to its pecuniary resources.

Usbek
revolt.

Death of
Queen
Doorga-
wutty.

A D. 1566.

Campaign
against the
Uzbeks

Akber, finding that little progress was made by his officers in suppressing the revolt, determined to take the field in person. A fever, with which he was seized, obliged him to return to Agra, where he remained till April, 1566, and then resumed the campaign. Taking a select body of horse, he proceeded by a forced march toward Lucknow, in the hope of surprising Sikundur Khan; but that rebel chief, having received warning, evacuated the place and joined his confederates. Several of these, worked upon by emissaries from Akber, who always displayed great dexterity in breaking up any confederacy formed against him, abandoned the cause as hopeless, and made their submission; but a formidable opposition was still offered by Bahadur Khan Seestany, who, after crossing the Jumna and raising disturbances in the Doab, encountered the royalist general, Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk, in the open field. The royalists were at first successful; and, in the full confidence of victory, commenced the pursuit without observing any order. Bahadur Khan immediately seized the advantage, and changed his defeat into a victory, so complete that Akber's first tidings of the result were received from Meer Moiz himself, who never halted in his flight till he joined him at Canouge, with the wreck of his army.

A serious
reverse
repaired

The loss was greatly aggravated by its indirect effects—some of the confederates, who had made their submission, conceiving new hopes, and again joining the revolt. Among these was Khan Zuman, who immediately occupied Ghazi-poor and the adjoining country. Akber set out against him with all expedition, but Bahadur Khan, taking advantage of his absence, advanced to Juanpoor and captured it by escalade. This disaster seeming the more serious of the two, Akber retraced his steps, and, by the junction of forces from the loyal provinces, was soon at the head of an army strong enough to crush the rebellion. Bahadur Khan accordingly evacuated Juanpoor and fled toward Benares, from which he sent an offer of submission. The offer was accepted; for all Akber's leanings were to the generous side, but on this occasion his leniency was carried to an extreme. When the king, after having given his royal word of pardon, ordered him and his brother Khan Zuman to appear at court, the latter answered "that shame for his past offences alone prevented him from appearing in the presence, till time should have convinced his majesty of his loyalty; but that when the king should return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur Khan would, at a future time, pay their respects." There was no sincerity in these words, for the brothers were only endeavouring to gain time, and took the first opportunity of revolting and seizing upon Gurrah.

Proceedings
in Cabool.

The next quarter to which Akber's attention was specially called was Cabool. It was in the hands of his half-brother, Mahomed Hakim Mirza, who was threatened by Suliman Mirza, chief of Budukshan, and sent a message to Akber, earnestly soliciting his aid. A strong reinforcement was accordingly sent; but before it arrived the struggle was over. Suliman Mirza had made good his threat by attacking Cabool, and Mahomed Hakim Mirza had been compelled

to evacuate it. In his retreat he took the direction of the Indus, and was ungrateful enough to endeavour to compensate himself for the loss of Cabool by seizing upon Lahore. This he was more readily tempted to do, because he believed that Akber's hands were fully occupied in the eastern provinces by the Usbeks. The attempt upon Lahore was made; and, though it failed, appearances were so alarming that Akber postponed a projected expedition against the Usbeks in the Doab, and in November, 1566, directed his march into the Punjab. In the dead of the night Mahomed Hakim Mirza was awakened by the noise of drums and trumpets; and, calling to ask what it meant, was told that the citizens of Lahore were manifesting their joy at the intelligence they had received of Akber's approach. Without waiting to learn more, he mounted his steed in the utmost alarm, and, taking his cavalry along with him, was off on the instant for Cabool. Fortune was far more favourable to him than he deserved; for on arriving he found that his enemy, Suliman Mirza, had retired to Budukshan for the winter, leaving Cabool very imperfectly defended. The consequence was, that he recovered it as quickly as he had lost it.

A.D. 1566.

An attempt
upon
Lahore
defeated.

The absence of Akber in the Punjab was no sooner known to the Usbeks than they put themselves in motion, took Canouge and Oude, and extended their conquests in all directions. He therefore hastened back to Agra, and having collected his troops, set out for Juanpoor. Khan Zuman Khan, when this startling intelligence reached him, was engaged in laying siege to the fort of Sheergur. He immediately raised it, and, with his brother Bahadur Khan Seestany, who was besieging Kurra, crossed the Ganges in full retreat to Malwah, intending either to join some insurgents who had appeared in that province, or to form an alliance with the kings of the Deccan. Akber, fully alive to the magnitude of the danger which thus threatened, determined, if possible, to overtake him. Such was his haste that, on arriving at the ferry of Muneepoor, and finding no boats in readiness, he mounted his elephant and plunged into the stream. One hundred of his body-guard imitated his example; and though the water was then high, they all reached the opposite bank in safety. At the head of this small party Akber proceeded, and had actually come in sight of the enemy's camp before he was reinforced by the garrison from Kurra.

Progress of
the Usbek
revolt.

The enemy, never imagining that Akber would venture to cross without his army, felt perfectly secure, and had accordingly passed the night in festivity. They were first brought to their senses by the ominous sound of the royal *nukara*, or kettle-drum. Though completely surprised, they were so superior in numbers that the contest was for some time doubtful, and Akber was in great personal danger; but his elephants, advancing rapidly into the midst of the confused mass, left the enemy no time to rally. Khan Zuman, while endeavouring to extract an arrow which had wounded him, fell with his horse, and was trampled to death by an elephant. His brother, Bahadur Khan, was taken prisoner; and on being brought before the king, who asked him what injury he

Its sup-
pression.

A. D. 1572. had sustained to justify him in again drawing the sword, simply replied, "Praise be to God that he has rescued me once more to see your majesty's countenance." This impudent hypocrisy had saved him on a former occasion, but it now proved unavailing; for some of the officers, afraid perhaps of a renewal of the king's ill-judged leniency, put him to death without orders. The revolt of the Usbeks being now considered at an end, Akber returned to Agra in July, 1567.

Siege of
Chittoor.

Akber next marched against Rana Oody Sing, who had hitherto refused to acknowledge the Mogul supremacy. He immediately directed his steps against Chittoor, in Rajpootana. The rana quitted it before his arrival, and retired into the mountains, but left it amply provisioned and strongly garrisoned by 8000 Rajpoots. It was immediately invested by Akber, whose approaches are said to have been made in the most scientific manner, in the mode recommended by Vauban, and practised by the best engineers of modern times. After arriving near the walls by means of zigzag trenches and stuffed gabions, two mines were carried under bastions, filled with gunpowder, and fired. The storming party advanced, and, finding a practicable breach, divided, with the view of entering both breaches at once. From some cause only one of the mines had exploded, and the second division was close upon the other when the second explosion took place, and 500 of the Moguls were blown into the air. The consequence was, that both attacks failed.

Akber shoots
Jagmul.

Akber's spirit generally rose with the difficulties he encountered, and he immediately began to run new mines and carry on other works. One evening while they were in progress, he perceived Jagmul, the governor, superintending the repair of the breaches by torch-light. Seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, he fired with so sure an aim as to lodge the ball in Jagmul's forehead. The garrison were at once seized with despair, and erecting a funeral pile for the dead body of their chief, burned their wives and children along with it. Akber, aware of what was going on, ordered his men forward to the breaches under the cover of night. Not a soul appeared, and they entered the fort without opposition. The Rajpoots had retired to their temples, and there, disdaining to accept of quarter, perished to a man.

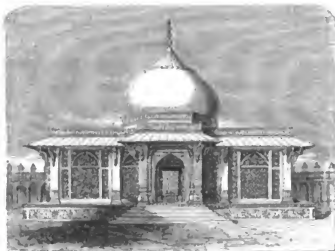
Sheikh
Selim.

Akber's children had hitherto died; but in 1569, shortly after he had made a pilgrimage to a celebrated shrine at Ajmeer, and paid a visit to Sheikh Selim Chishty, in the village of Sikra, his favourite sultana gave birth to his son Selim. In the following year another son, whom he called Murad, was born to him. As both births had taken place in the village of Sikra, he regarded it as a particularly propitious spot, and selected it as the site of a city, which at a later period received the name of Futtipoor.

Gujerat had long been torn by intestine factions, and also become a common asylum for all the chiefs who had risen in rebellion against Akber's government. Having therefore resolved to march against it in person, he set out in September, 1572. Puttun and Ahmedabad fell into his hands without a blow. At

Baroach and Surat matters wore a more threatening appearance, Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza being near the one, and his brother Mahomed Hoossein Mirza near the other, each at the head of an independent army. On Akber's approach towards Baroach, Ibrahim suddenly quitted the place, and set out by a circuitous route to reach the Punjab, where he hoped to raise an insurrection. Akber, informed of his intention, immediately adopted one of those chivalric resolutions which, notwithstanding the success which usually attended them, cannot be justified against the charge of rashness. It was nine o'clock at night when he heard of Ibrahim's departure.

A.D. 1572.

Revolt of
Gujarat.

SHEIKH SELIM'S TOMB AT FUTTI POOR SIKRA.¹
From an Oriental drawing, East India House.

Immediately, taking only a small body of horse, he hastened off to intercept his retreat. On reaching the Mhendry, which runs by the town of Surtal, he found his party reduced to forty troopers, and saw Ibrahim on the opposite bank with 1000. At this moment Akber was joined by seventy additional troopers. He expected more, but refused to wait for them; and crossing the river, he advanced to the charge. Many acts of individual heroism were performed, particularly by some Hindoo rajahs, who, proud of the confidence which Akber had placed in them, were eager to justify it; but none behaved more chivalrously than the king himself, who repeatedly engaged the bravest of his enemies single-handed, and charged right against Ibrahim, who, shunning the encounter, only saved himself by the fleetness of his horse.

Satisfied with this achievement, Akber, instead of attempting to pursue the fleeing enemy, waited till his army arrived, and then proceeded to lay siege to Surat. A valiant resistance was at first threatened; but as soon as the batteries were ready to open, the inhabitants surrendered. Meanwhile Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza carried out his scheme of attempting an insurrection in the Punjab. On learning his arrival, Hoossein Koolly Khan, Akber's general, who was besieging Nagarcote, immediately raised the siege and pursued him through the Punjab to Tatta on the Indus. He probably thought that he had made his escape, or believed Koolly Khan to be more distant than he was, for instead of continuing his flight, he set out on a hunting excursion. On his return he

Suppression
of the re-
volt in the
Punjab.

¹ This tomb was erected by Akber to Sheikh Selim, in gratitude for the prayers of the holy man. It is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of a fine quadrangle 575 feet square, surrounded by a lofty

wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within it. The sarcophagus containing the body is inclosed within a screen of marble, carved into lattice work, and inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

A.D. 1573. found his camp stormed, and his brother Musacod Hoessein a prisoner. He resolved to retrieve the day or perish, and made many desperate onsets; but being repulsed at every point, desisted, and fled to Mooltan. Here, after being severely wounded and taken prisoner by a Beloochee, he was delivered up to the governor of Mooltan, who shortly after beheaded him. His head was sent to Agra, and by Akber's order placed above one of its gates.

New troubles
in Gujerat.

In July, 1573, the affairs of Gujerat were again thrown into disorder by the union of one of its former chiefs with Mahomed Hoessein Mirza. These confederates, after overrunning several districts, felt strong enough to attempt the siege of Ahmedabad. The presence of Akber seemed absolutely necessary, but a formidable obstacle was in the way. The rainy season had commenced, and the march of a large army was impracticable. In these circumstances, he made one of those decisive movements for which he had become famous. Sending off a body of 2000 chosen horse, he followed rapidly with a retinue of 300 persons, chiefly nobles, mounted on camels and accompanied by led horses. Having come up with the main body at Puttun, he found that his whole force mustered 3000. Without halting he set forward for Ahmedabad, while a swift messenger hastened before to make the garrison aware of his approach. The enemy first learned it by the sound of his drum; and though astonished above measure, prepared for action. Leaving 5000 horse to watch the gates and prevent a sally, Mahomed set out with 7000 horse. Akber at first waited, in the expectation that the garrison would join him, but on learning that this was not to be expected, he crossed the river and drew up on the plain. The battle was fiercely contested, and was not decided till the king, with his body-guard of 100 men, made an attack in flank on Mahomed, who, losing all presence of mind, turned his back and fled. The rout now became general. Mahomed, wounded in the face and mounted on a horse which had also been wounded, attempted to leap a hedge, but both fell, and he was made prisoner. Several persons laying claim to the honour of the capture, Akber put the question to himself—"Who took you?" Mahomed, holding down his head, replied, "Nobody. The curse of ingratitude overtook me." He spoke truth, and paid the penalty; for before Akber had given any orders respecting him, Rajah Ray Sing, in whose charge he had been left, put him to death. The siege of Ahmedabad was immediately raised, and Akber entered it in triumph.

Revolt in
Bengal

In the course of this year Dawood Khan, son of Suliman Kirany, ruler of Bengal, took up arms. Moonyim Khan, sent by Akber against him, defeated him in several actions, and compelled him to sign a treaty. Akber, disliking the terms, refused to ratify it, and insisted that Dawood Khan should either be expelled or obliged to pay tribute. He promised the latter, but it was merely to gain time; and as soon as he thought himself strong enough, he resumed hostilities. Moonyim Khan again defeated him, took his fleet of boats, and, after crossing the Ganges, laid siege to Patna. Akber, thinking his presence

required, left Agra in the middle of the rains, and set out with as many troops as could be embarked in 1000 boats. On arriving within a few miles of Patna he had the satisfaction to learn that, in consequence of Moonyim's success, it was on the point of being evacuated. Hajeepoor, on the opposite side of the Ganges, also yielded without resistance. Dawood Khan, thus defeated at all points, wished to make terms; but Akber insisted on his unconditional submission, at the same time observing to his messenger, "Tell Dawood Khan I have a thousand men in my army as good as he, and if he is disposed to put the point to issue in single combat, I will myself meet him." Dawood Khan had no idea of this manner of settling the contest, and made a precipitate retreat to Bengal. In the pursuit 400 of his elephants were taken. Akber now returned to Agra; and Moonyim Khan, continuing to prosecute the subjugation of Bengal, obliged Dawood Khan to

Revolt in
Bengal.

take refuge in Orissa. Ultimately he was overtaken on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and obliged to submit. The terms were that he should relinquish all pretensions to Bengal and Behar, but retain Orissa and Cuttack. Moonyim Khan was appointed governor



RUINS OF GOOR.¹—Daniell's Oriental Scenery.

of Bengal, and removed the seat of government from Khowaspoor Tanda to Goor, which had been the capital till it was abandoned on account of its insalubrity. He had better have left matters as he found them, for he soon fell a victim to the climate, and was succeeded by Hoossein Koolly Khan, a Toorkoman, who bore the title of Khan Jehan.

Before Hoossein Koolly Khan had taken actual possession of his government,

Its sup-
pression

¹ "Taking the extent of the ruins of Goor at the most reasonable calculation, it is not less than fifteen miles in length (extending along the old bank of the Ganges), and from two to three in breadth. Several villages stand on part of its site; the remainder is either covered with thick forest, the habitations of tigers and other beasts of prey, or become arable land, whose soil is chiefly composed of brick-dust. The principal ruins are a mosque, lined with black marble elaborately wrought, and two gates of the citadel, which are strikingly grand and lofty. These fabrics, and some few others, appear to owe their duration to the nature of their materials, which are

less marketable and more difficult to separate, than those of the ordinary brick-buildings, which have been, and continue to be an article of merchandise, and are transported to Moorshedabad, Malda, and other places, for the purposes of building. The situation of Goor was highly convenient for the capital of Bengal and Behar as united under one government, being nearly central with respect to the populous parts of those provinces and near the junction of the principal rivers that compose that extraordinary inland navigation for which those provinces are famed."—Major Rennell, quoted in *Thorn-ton's Gazetteer of India*.

A D 1585.

Bengal and
Behar in-
corporated
in the
Mogul
empire.

Dawood Khan, having leagued with several Afghan chiefs, appeared at the head of 50,000 horse, and retook the greater part of Bengal. His possession, however, was only momentary; for, in a battle fought shortly after, he was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death. The insurrection was still headed by some Afghan chiefs, and several sanguinary battles were fought; but ultimately the Moguls proved everywhere triumphant. The fort of Rhotas, in Behar, which had long held out, was obliged to surrender; and Bengal and Behar were formally incorporated with the empire of the Great Mogul, though they both continued to be, from time to time, the seats of formidable insurrections. These had hitherto for the most part originated with Afghans, who had fled thither when the Afghan dynasty was driven from the throne of Delhi; but when their hostility had ceased to be formidable, the Mogul chiefs themselves began to give considerable trouble, first quarrelling with Akber's financial arrangements, and then making open war by appearing in the field in 1579, with an army of 30,000 men. After an intestine war, which the Afghans again endeavoured to turn to account, tranquillity was restored.

Akber
advances on
the Punjab

While Akber's officers were thus occupied in Bengal, he was himself obliged to march to the north-western provinces, in consequence of a new attempt by his half-brother, Mahomed Hakim Mirza, to make himself master of part of the Punjab. Mahomed had advanced as far as Lahore and laid siege to it, when the arrival of Akber at Sirhind disconcerted all his schemes, and he hastened back to Cabool. He had so often before escaped in the same way, that Akber determined not to let him off so easily; and after crossing the Indus, continued his march upon Cabool itself, which he entered in triumph in 1579. Mahomed was now at his mercy; but, on making his submission, received more favourable terms than he deserved, and was left in possession of his capital, while the royal army set out on its return. On this occasion Akber built the fort of Attock; a short time after he built the fort of Allahabad, at the junction of the Jumna and Ganges.

New troubles
in Gujerat.

After Moozuffur Shah, the former ruler of Gujerat, had been forced to abdicate, he was taken to Agra, and so far ingratiated himself with Akber that he was presented with an extensive domain, and allowed to reside upon it. He seemed satisfied; but in 1581, when new troubles arose in Gujerat, he was worked upon by some of the insurgents, and suddenly quitted Hindoostan for the purpose of attempting to recover his lost throne. Thus headed, the insurrection soon became formidable, and the royal generals were obliged to retreat northwards to Puttun, leaving Moozuffur in possession of Ahmedabad, Baroach, and nearly the whole of the province. An army, sent under Mirza Khan, son of the late Behram Khan, recovered a large portion of what had been lost; but Moozuffur, retiring into the more inaccessible parts of the peninsula, maintained himself in a kind of independence for several years.

In 1585, Mahomed Hakim Mirza having died, Akber immediately set out

to take possession of Cabool. In this he found no difficulty; but he immediately after undertook another task, which brought him into collision with tribes of a more warlike character than he had previously encountered, and called for his utmost skill and prowess. Cashmere, with its beautiful valley, tempted his ambition, and he resolved to make a conquest of it. The circumstances were favourable; for dissensions had broken out in the reigning family, and the whole kingdom was torn asunder by contending factions. But the facilities for conquest thus afforded were greatly counteracted by the physical features of the country. It lies embosomed among lofty mountain chains, and is accessible only through perilous passes. At first Akber, then at Attock, was contented to

A.D. 1587

Akber's
campaigns
in Cabool
and Cash-
mere.

ATTOCK, from West Bank of the Ganges.—Vigne's Visit to Ghuzni.

send forward a detachment of his army. It succeeded in penetrating through a pass which had not been guarded; but a threatened want of provisions, and the sudden setting in of winter with a heavy fall of snow, so intimidated the officers in command that they hastily concluded a treaty by which Cashmere nominally acknowledged the Mogul supremacy, but was left, in every other respect, in full possession of its former independence.

This treaty was utterly at variance with Akber's views; and he therefore not only refused to ratify it, but, in the following year (1587), sent a second invading army, the commander of which, by dexterously availing himself of the intestine dissensions, was admitted within the passes without a struggle, and afterwards made an easy conquest. The king, having been captured, was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi, and sent to live on a domain assigned him in Behar. Cashmere, robbed of its independence, which it had maintained for nearly 1000 years, became merely a Mogul province.

Cashmere
conquered.

The struggles in this quarter were not yet over; for Akber's ambition extended to the subjugation, not merely of Cashmere, but of the Afghan mountain districts which encircle the plain of Peshawer. The most powerful of the Afghan tribes in this direction were the Yooseofzyes or Eusofzeis, who possessed the northern part of the Peshawer plain, and the mountain terraces which rise above it and stretch back to the snowy ridges of the Hindoo Koosh.

Campaign
against the
Yooseofzyes
and Rosh-
nyes.

A.D. 1591. The Mogul army employed in the expedition against this Afghan tribe was commanded by Zein Khan Koka, who allowed himself to be completely defeated, and had great difficulty in reaching the royal camp at Attock. Rajah Beerbul,



YOO-SOOFZYE.—Elphinstone's Kingdom of Cabul.

Scinde made a Mogul province. in Scinde, advanced with a numerous army and a train of artillery. After arriving within twelve miles of the Mogul camp, he sent forward 100 boats

filled with artillerymen and archers, to make an attack. Mirza Khan had only twenty-five boats at command; but, taking advantage of the night, came upon the enemy by surprise, and compelled him to a precipitate flight. Mirza Jany Beg became, in future, more cautious; and having brought

down his whole fleet, landed on a swampy ground, which, at high water, became inaccessible. Here he successfully resisted all attempts to dislodge him; and



RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF SEHWAN.—Jackson's Afghanistan

at the same time, while he kept his own communications open, so interrupted those of the Moguls, that they were unable to obtain the necessary supplies. In these circumstances, Mirza Khan had no alternative but to divide his army, taking part of it to Tatta, while the remainder continued the siege. Mirza Jany Beg, thus tempted to assume the offensive, lost the advantages of his position, and was finally caught in a trap, which compelled him to accept of any terms of peace that the Moguls chose to dictate. His kingdom became a Mogul province, and he himself exchanged his position as a king for that of an officer in the Mogul service. In this war he is said to have employed some Portuguese soldiers, and to have had 200 natives dressed as Europeans. These may be regarded as the first Sepoys in India.

A.D. 1594.

The first
Sepoys.

It has been mentioned how Hoomayoon, Akber's father, after obtaining military aid from the Shah of Persia, on condition of making the conquest of Kandahar, and ceding it to that monarch, refused to fulfil his agreement, and kept the conquest to himself. Internal troubles prevented the shah from resenting the injustice at the time; but the circumstances afterwards became favourable, and Kandahar passed to Persia shortly after Akber's accession. It remained in this position till 1594, when Akber, turning the Persian dissensions to account, was able to make himself master both of the town and territory without being obliged to strike a blow, the Persian prince who held the fort being contented to exchange his possession for the government of Mooltan and a command in the Mogul army.

Kandahar
wrested
from Persia.

In the whole of India north of the Nerbudda, Mogul supremacy was now completely established. It was otherwise in the Deccan; and to it, therefore, Akber's attention was now earnestly turned. In 1586 he had availed himself of an opportunity to interfere in the internal concerns of Ahmednuggur; and had endeavoured, though without success, to aid a claimant in obtaining the throne. In 1590 he had recourse to a much more formal proceeding, and sent ambassadors to four different courts—Asseer and Boorhanpoor, Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, and Bhagnagur, the modern Hyderabad—demanding an acknowledgment of his supremacy. When a common refusal was given, he only received the answer which he had anticipated, and for which he was prepared. For the avowed purpose of reducing them to subjection, Mirza Khan was immediately sent south with an army. He proceeded first to Mando. Meanwhile a messenger had arrived from Boorhan, King of Ahmednuggur, who had lived for some time in exile at Akber's court, announcing his entire submission. His death having taken place shortly after, in 1594, and his son and successor having fallen in battle, a disputed succession took place, and the minister, who favoured the claim of a boy of the name of Ahmed, applied for assistance to Akber's son, Prince Murad Mirza, then in Gujerat. The prince, by his father's orders, immediately put his army in motion and marched for the Deccan, taking the direction of Ahmednuggur.

Akber claims
supremacy
in the
Deccan.

A.D. 1599.

Siege of Ahmednuggur.

The minister, Meean Munja, who called in this foreign aid, had repented of the step, and therefore prepared to meet the prince as if he had come not as an ally, but as an enemy. Having provisioned and otherwise prepared for the defence of Ahmednuggur, he gave the command of it to the Princess Chand Beeby, who had been queen and dowager-regent of the neighbouring kingdom of Bejapoor, and marched toward the Bejapoor frontier with the remainder of the army. Prince Murad Mirza and Mirza Khan having united their forces, met the altered circumstances by laying aside their ostensible character as auxiliaries, and assuming that of principals in the war.

Heroism of Chand Beeby.

Chand Beeby, equally prepared to act her part, and when the Moguls opened the siege of Ahmednuggur, made a most resolute defence, counterworking their mines, superintending the repairing of breaches, and often making her appearance, sword in hand, to animate the garrison when their spirits began to fail. Not contented with thus resisting in the fort, she entered into correspondence with the neighbouring kings; and, by vivid description of the common danger by which they were threatened, succeeded in forming a confederacy which levied a powerful army for the purpose of advancing to her relief. The Moguls, anxious to effect a capture before this army could arrive, fired their mines, which blew up about eighty feet of the wall, and threw the garrison into such consternation that they would have given up the place had not Chand Beeby, appearing among them with a veil on her face and a naked sword in her hand, animated them to new exertions. She caused guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled upon them, so that the ditch was filled with their dead. During the night she stood by the breach, superintending the workmen, and did not depart till she had seen it built up to such a height as to be no longer practicable. It was now the turn of the Moguls to be disheartened; and Prince Murad was glad to conclude a peace which left Ahmednuggur and its dependencies entire in the hands of its native sovereign, and only required him to renounce some obsolete or unavailable claim on the throne of Berar.

Akber's personal campaign in the Deccan.

No sooner was this treaty ratified than the dissensions among the princes of the Deccan, which had only been suspended by a common danger, again broke out. Among other follies, they voluntarily assumed the offensive against the Great Mogul; and, in the very face of their recent engagement, marched a hostile force into Berar. Akber had thus only too good ground for interfering; and he accordingly resolved, in 1599, to take the field in person. One cause of this resolution is said to have been the desire to divert his thoughts, and lighten the grief which he felt for the loss of his second son, Prince Murad, who had died of a sudden illness. Another care weighing heavily upon him was the misconduct of his eldest son, Prince Selim. He had formally appointed him his successor, and treated him with the utmost indulgence, but met with a most ungrateful return. The prince had become the slave of intoxication, and under its influence was hurried into several crimes. One of these was treason, which

he carried so far that it had assumed the form of open revolt, from which, however, second and better thoughts induced him to desist. Another crime which stains his memory, is the share he had in the murder of Abulfazl, who had long been his father's favourite minister, and is still celebrated as the historian of his reign. Abulfazl was returning from the Deccan when he fell into an ambuscade, which Narsing Deo, Rajah of Orcha, in Bundelcund, had laid for him, at the instigation of Prince Selim, and fell fighting valiantly. Had Akber been aware of the share which his son had in this atrocity, he would probably have taken effectual steps to disinherit him; since, without this additional aggravation, the tidings so affected him that he wept bitterly, and passed two days and nights without sleep. This first paroxysm over, he vowed revenge, and took it by inflicting on Narsing Deo and all his race severities of which his reign happily affords few examples.

A. D. 1605

Assassination of Abulfazl

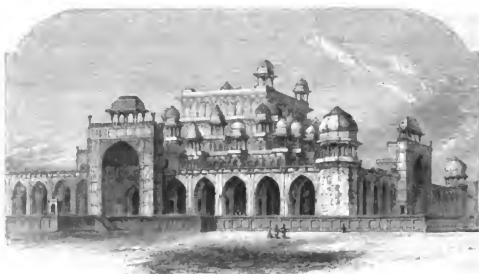
In the south Akber's usual good fortune had attended him; his arms, though not uniformly, were so generally successful, that most of the princes hastened to make their submission; and he returned to Agra in 1602, so satisfied with the result, that in a proclamation which he issued, he assumed, in addition to his other titles, that of Prince of the Deccan. While thus at the head of a mighty empire, of which he had himself been the main architect, and surrounded by a magnificence which few if any sovereigns have ever equalled, Akber, in his declining years, was far from happy. He had scarcely ceased to mourn for his second son, when his third son, Prince Daniel, whose marriage in 1604 he had celebrated with great festivities, died within a twelvemonth, the victim of his own drunken habits. But his sorrow for the dead members of his family was not so distressing as the shame and agony produced by the misconduct of the living. Selim, his only surviving son and destined successor, after a promise of reform, had sunk deeper than ever in his vicious courses, acting habitually with the caprice of a madman and the cruelty of a tyrant. A quarrel with his own son Khosroo had such an effect on that youth's mother, that she destroyed herself by poison. Akber, who had through life manifested the greatest decision, seems now to have hesitated as to his future arrangements. He shuddered at the thought of being succeeded by Selim, and yet in Khosroo, Selim's eldest son, he beheld the very passions which disgraced Selim himself. There was a third son, Khurram. He had entwined himself around the heart of his grandfather, but the fearful consequences of a disputed succession appear to have deterred him from making any destination in his favour. Amid these distressing trials and perplexities, his health began visibly to give way, and after an illness, during the last ten days of which he was confined to bed, and employed much of his time in giving good counsels to his son, he expired on the 13th of October, 1605. Of the sixty-four years of his life, fifty-one had been spent on the throne. He was buried near Agra, in a tomb consisting of a solid pyramid, surrounded by cloisters, galleries, and domes, and of such immense dimensions,

Akber's succession in the Deccan.

His domestic sorrows

His death.

A.D. 1605. that for a year or two after the conquest of the surrounding territory by the British, a whole European regiment of dragoons was quartered in it.

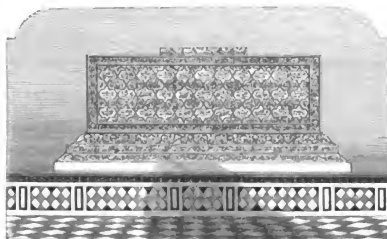


MAUSOLEUM OF EMPEROR AKBER AT SECUNDRÄ.¹—From an Oriental drawing in East India House.

Akber's person, talents, and character.

Akber is described as of a manly, athletic, and handsome form, fair complexion, pleasing features, and captivating manners.

In early life his tastes were somewhat epicurean, and he indulged in wine; in his latter years he was abstemious, both in meat and drink. He had no vindictiveness in his nature; and, however much he might have been provoked, was always ready to extend pardon to every one who asked it. His courage was so decided as often



AKBER'S TOMBSTONE AT SECUNDRÄ.¹—Oriental drawing, East India House.

to amount to rashness; and the chivalrous prevailed so much in his temper, that

¹ The tomb of Akber at Secundra, near Delhi, is, like all his buildings and doings, exceptional, and unlike those of any of his race, but still of great magnificence. The tomb is pyramidal in external form. The outer or lower terrace is 320 feet square by 30 feet in height, and its architecture is bold and massive. On this terrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 feet on each side, and 14 feet 9 inches in height. A third and a fourth of similar design, and respectively 15 feet 2 inches and 14 feet 6 inches high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble inclosure 157 feet each way, or, externally, just half the length of the

lowest terrace. The outer wall of this is entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful patterns. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade of the same material. In the centre of this cloister, on a raised platform, is the tombstone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery (see accompanying engraving). This, however, is not the true burial place; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tombstone, in a vaulted chamber in the basement, 35 feet square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum."—Fergusson's *Hand-Book of Architecture*.

he often underwent great toils and exposed himself to great perils, from a mere love of adventure. His intellect, though not of the first order, was remarkably acute, and nothing pleased him more than discussions of a metaphysical and puzzling nature. When not actually engaged in these discussions, he delighted to be present at them as a listener; and amused himself with the wranglings of philosophical or religious sects, whose leaders he on various occasions summoned to court for this very purpose. One of the most remarkable of these discussions took place when he held a meeting of Mahometan doctors and Portuguese missionaries, and deluded the latter by pretending to have some idea of becoming a Christian convert. The truth seems to be, that he had few serious convictions of any kind, and employed his acuteness, not so much for the purpose of discovering, as of evading truth.

A.D. 1595.

In private life he was a kind and indulgent parent, and a generous, warm-hearted, and strongly attached friend. Indeed, it may be truly said, that the only real griefs which he suffered through life had their source in these two relations. As a military commander, he takes high rank. He did not fight many great battles, but often, after some of his ablest officers had fought and lost them, he no sooner made his appearance in the field than fortune, which had forsaken them, seemed to return, and defeat was converted into victory. In the cabinet he was still more successful than in the field; and possessed in the highest degree the art of winning the affections of all with whom he came in contact, and rendering their varied talents and influence subservient to the advancement of his service. For the first time Mahometans and Hindoos were seen, during his reign, working harmoniously together, while holding places of honour and trust near the throne.

Akber's character.

Akber's best fame is founded on his internal administration, into which so many important improvements were introduced, that it would be difficult to enumerate them. Suffice it here to say, that in every department of the state, business was conducted on rational, liberal, and tolerant principles; justice was administered impartially among all classes of subjects, without reference to birth or religious profession; and the revenue was raised in the manner supposed to be most equitable and least oppressive. Having first fixed a uniform standard of measurement, he carefully ascertained the extent and relative productiveness of each landed tenement, and then fairly apportioned the amount of taxation which each ought to bear. In this way there was little room for favouritism; and a burden which, while it lay equally upon all, was not excessive in its amount, was borne easily and without grudging.

Internal administration.

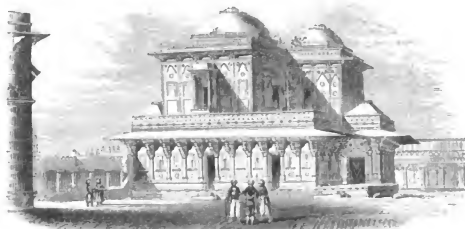
In connection with Akber's revenue system may be mentioned his administrative divisions of the empire into provinces or *subahs*, each of which was governed by a head officer called a *subahdar*, whose powers were equivalent to those of a viceroy, all authority, civil as well as military, within the province being vested in him. Subordinate to the subahdar, though appointed not by

Division of the Mogul empire into subahs.

A. D. 1605. him, but by the king, was an officer, with the title of *dewan* or *diwan*, who had the superintendence of all matters of revenue and finance. The subahs, originally fifteen, were, in consequence of additional conquests, raised to eighteen. Of these twelve were in Hindoostan and six in the Deccan.

Liberal
spirit of Ak-
ber's rule.

Among the enactments of Akber which deserve notice for their humane and liberal spirit, and at the same time throw some reflection on the tardy legislation of the British government on the same subjects, are his prohibition of the burning of Hindoo widows against their will, and his permitting them to marry again, though the Hindoo law expressly forbids it. The same humane and liberal spirit appears in his prohibition of the *jezia* or capitation tax on infidels, which had placed an enormous, irresponsible, and much-abused power in the hands of fanatical Mahometans; and in the abolition of the practice of making slaves of prisoners taken in war—a practice under the cover of which not only the wives and children captured in camps or fortified places, but the peaceable inhabitants of any hostile country, were seized and carried off into slavery. These enactments gave grievous offence—those affecting the Hindoos being odious to the Brahmins, and those which laid restraints on the Mahometans being seized upon by the Mollahs, and urged as a proof that Akber himself was an infidel. A still stronger proof was supposed to be found in a matter of court etiquette, on which Akber seems to have insisted with more pertinacity than is easily reconcilable with his usual moderation. He had a dislike to the beard, and would scarcely admit a person who wore it to his presence. Unfortunately his feeling in this respect was in direct opposition to an injunction of the Koran; and several of the more zealous Mahometan chiefs chose rather to



PALACE OF AKBER, FUTTIPOOR SIKRA.—From an original drawing by Capt. R. Smith, 44th Regiment.

forego the honours and pleasures of the court than conform to a regulation, the observance of which seemed incompatible with orthodoxy.

His public
works

Among the public works executed during the reign of Akber, are the walls

and citadels of Agra and Allahabad, the foundation of the city of Futtipoor on the site of the village of Sikra, for which, as the birth-place of two of his sons, he had conceived a strong partiality; the splendid palace erected in that city for his own residence, and near it a mosque remarkable for the beauty and majestic proportions of its architecture; and the white marble mosque and palace of Agra, in both of which simplicity and elegance are happily combined.

A. D. 1605.

CHALEES SITOON, ALLAHABAD.¹—Daniell's Oriental Scenery.

Another work of Akber, though not strictly of a public nature, is the tomb of his father Hoomayoon at Delhi. Its commanding position, its magnitude and solidity, and its stupendous dome of white marble, have long made it celebrated as one of the greatest of his structures; while a new interest has recently been given to it as the scene of the capture of the last and, all things considered, the most worthless representative of the Great Mogul—the present (January, 1858) so-called King of Delhi. It would be unpardonable, in referring to the performances of Akber's reign, not to mention another work which, though of a very different nature from any of the above, might have shed greater lustre on his reign than the most celebrated of them. This work was a translation of the gospels into Persian. It was undertaken by Akber's special directions, and intrusted to a Portuguese missionary, who, unfortunately, instead of executing it faithfully, committed what is called a pious fraud, and produced a spurious translation, disfigured and adulterated by lying Popish legends. The sad consequence is, that a work which, issued under the auspices of the Great Mogul, might have given a knowledge of pure Christianity in influential quarters which could not otherwise be reached, has only had the effect of presenting it under a debased and polluted form.

Akber's public works.

His order for a Persian translation of the gospels.

¹ "The most beautiful thing [at Allahabad] was the pavilion of the Chalees Sitoon, or forty pillars, so called from having that number on the principal floor, disposed in two concentric octagonal ranges; one internal of sixteen pillars, the other outside of

twenty-four; above this, supported by the inner colonnade, was an upper range of pillars crowned by a dome. This building has entirely disappeared, its materials being wanted to repair the fortifications." —Ferguson's *Hand-Book of Architecture*.

CHAPTER VII.

Modern India—Changes in the mode of intercourse with the East—Monopolies established by the Venetians, the Genoese, and other Italian republics—Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope—Portuguese progress in India.



IN the time of the Roman emperor Justinian, when the Persians, by establishing a monopoly of the Indian trade along the route which led most directly to Constantinople, had raised the price of silk enormously in that luxurious capital, the opportune arrival of two Persian monks dissipated the alarm which had begun to prevail, by showing

how an adequate supply might be obtained at home. In the course of their labours as Christian missionaries, they had penetrated into China, and become acquainted with the whole process of the silk manufacture, from its commencement in the rearing of silk-worms, to its termination in the finished product. Their information attracted general attention; and the emperor, fully alive to its importance, determined immediately to act upon it. With this view the monks, under his auspices, paid a second visit to China, and returned with a supply of the eggs of the silk-worm, concealed in the hollow of a cane. The worms hatched from these eggs being carefully reared, multiplied so rapidly that in a short time Greece, Sicily, and Italy were both producing raw silk, and manufacturing it on an extensive scale. One branch of the Indian trade was thus in some degree superseded, but the others which remained were still sufficient to create a large demand, and excite to strenuous exertions for the purpose of supplying it. In this way the ancient channels of intercourse were again partially opened, and Indian products were beginning to flow into Europe by the inland and maritime routes which have been already described, when new obstacles of a very formidable character were suddenly interposed.

The Mahometan imposture, after spreading like wild fire over the whole of Arabia, continued its conquests in all directions, and soon placed both Persia and Egypt under the absolute control of its fanatical adherents. The fierce animosities thus engendered, left no room for friendly intercourse between those who regarded Mahomet as a prophet, and those who knew him to be an impostor. Exterminating warfare alone was thought of, and continued to rage with the utmost fury. In these circumstances, as the demand for Eastern products, originally confined to the more wealthy, had become generally diffused among all classes, the only alternative was to endeavour to obtain them by a channel which lay so far to the north as to run little risk of being interfered with by Mahometan fanaticism. Mention was formerly made of the commercial route, which after

Ca.
A D. 569.

Indian trade
under
Justinian

Silk worms
first
brought to
Europe.

Changes in
the route of
Indian
traffic.

crossing the Indus continued west, and then sent a branch north to the Caspian. A. D. 1093.
 This route, with a slight modification, was now adopted as the safest and most practicable, and continued for a long period to be the main trunk by which the commerce between Europe and the more remote regions of Asia was maintained. Two lines of caravans, the one from the western frontiers of China, and the other from the western frontiers of India, met at a common point of the Amoo or Oxus, where that stream first became available for transport. The goods by both lines were here embarked; being carried down the stream into Lake Aral, they were again conveyed by land carriage to the Caspian, and thence by water to the mouth of the Kur, and up the stream as far as navigable. Another land conveyance brought them to the Phasis, down which they were transported into the Black Sea, and thence to Constantinople, which thus became a great commercial emporium. At a later period a direct caravan route brought the products of the East to Astrakhan, from which they were conveyed either down the Volga into the Caspian, thereafter to follow the same route as before, or by land to the Don, and thence to the Sea of Azof.

This route, with all its obvious disadvantages, was the best which Europe possessed for more than two centuries. The caliphs would not have been unwilling to renew the ancient channels of commerce. They were perfectly aware of the riches which would thus be poured into their treasury, and were politic enough to keep their fanaticism in check when it could not be indulged without sacrificing their pecuniary interests. Accordingly, even while the Indian trade was confined almost entirely to their own subjects, they carefully endeavoured to extend it, both by affording it new facilities at home, and encouraging the exploration of foreign countries. In this way, at an early period, the caliphs of Bagdad had provided a new emporium for the trade of the Persian Gulf, by founding the port and city of Bussorah, at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris; and both from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea numerous voyages were made to both sides of the peninsula of India, to Ceylon, to Malacca, and to the shores of countries lying far beyond it. By means of these voyages all the valued productions of the East Indies arrived in their ports, and found ready purchasers in merchants, who carried them for distribution into the interior.

The friendly intercourse between Christian and Mahometan nations seemed on the point of being renewed, at least commercially, when the preaching of Peter the Hermit set all Europe in a flame, and myriads of Crusaders hastened from every quarter to wrest the holy sepulchre from the hands of infidels. War accordingly began again to rage with new fury; and the exasperation which had been gradually softened by time, became more bitter and universal than it had ever been before. All idea of peaceful trade was now necessarily abandoned; and yet, perhaps, at no period did the trade of the West make more rapid progress than during the Crusades. The armies destined for these celebrated expeditions never could have reached the East without the aid of the

Route by the
Persian
Gulf.

Effects of the
Crusades.

A D. 1204. Genoese, the Pisans, and the Venetians, whose fleets accompanying them in their march along the nearest shores, supplied them both with provisions and the means of transport. In return for these services they naturally shared in the success of those whom they had assisted, and, when valuable harbours fell into the hands of the Crusaders, obtained many important privileges.

Progress of
the Italian
maritime
states.

The maritime states of Italy, while thus ostensibly engaged in a common cause, were by no means prepared to admit that they had a common interest, and were hence disposed to act towards each other on the narrowest and most illiberal principles. The old maxim, that the commercial prosperity of a state was best promoted by depressing the trade of its neighbour, though now exploded, was then universally received; and in acting upon it, there was no injustice or perfidy of which the rival Italian republics scrupled to be guilty when it seemed possible in this way to establish a maritime ascendancy. One remarkable illustration of this fact was given in 1204, when the Venetians induced the leaders of the fourth crusade to turn aside from their avowed object of warring with infidels in order to wrest Constantinople from the hands of a monarch, who, whatever his demerits might be, was by profession Christian. A variety of motives may have influenced the Crusaders in taking this unwarrantable step; but the subsequent conduct of the Venetians leaves no room to doubt that their only object was selfish aggrandizement. After Constantinople had been stormed and plundered, the dominions which had belonged to the Greek emperor were partitioned among his unprincipled conquerors; and while an Earl of Flanders was placed upon his throne, the Venetians obtained a chain of settlements which stretched from the Dardanelles to the Adriatic, and made them virtually masters of the navigation and trade of the Levant. In Constantinople, which, from the cause already mentioned, had long rivalled Alexandria as an emporium for the traffic between Europe and India, they obtained exclusive privileges, which made it impossible for any maritime state to compete with them, and furnished them with the means of lording it over all their rivals.

The
Venetians.

The ungenerous course pursued by the Venetians had undoubtedly the effect of greatly extending their trade generally, and of giving them an almost exclusive monopoly of that large portion of the Indian trade which had its centre in Constantinople. The superiority they had thus acquired remained with them for rather more than half a century; and the injustice to which they owed it seemed almost to be forgotten, when the day of retribution arrived, and their own tactics were successfully employed against them. The Greeks had never been reconciled to the Latin yoke, which had been fraudulently imposed upon them, and were therefore prepared to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity of shaking it off. Had they been left to their own resources they could scarcely have hoped for success, but they had powerful auxiliaries in the Genoese, who were animated at once by a feeling of revenge for the injustice which they had suffered, and a desire to become masters of a traffic, the posses-

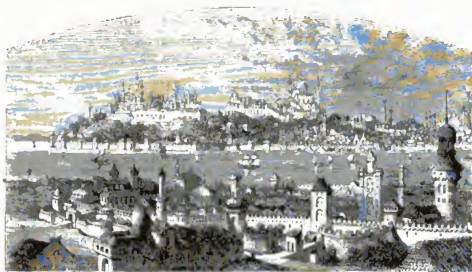
The Genoese.

sion of which had given the Venetians an immense superiority over all their rivals. The terms of alliance between the Greeks and the Genoese were easily settled. The former were again to be ruled by their own dynasty, and the latter were to supplant the Venetians in all their exclusive privileges. Both objects were accomplished. A Greek emperor once more mounted the throne of Constantinople, and the Genoese, in addition to other important privileges, took formal possession of the suburb of Pera, subject only to the condition of holding it as a fief of the empire.

C¹.
A.D. 1380.

It was now the turn of the Venetians to be depressed; while the Genoese, not contented with their supremacy in the harbour of Constantinople, extended it to the Black Sea, where, by erecting forts on various points of the coast, and particularly on commanding positions in the Crimea and within the Sea of Azof, they secured a monopoly of the extensive and lucrative trade carried on with the East by way of the Caspian. In virtue of this monopoly Genoa became for a time the greatest commercial power in Europe. The Venetians at first attempted to compete with the Genoese, even in the harbour of Constantinople, but soon

Genoese ascendancy at Constantinople, &c.



CONSTANTINOPLE, end of Seventeenth Century.—From a print by Homann.

found the terms so unequal, in consequence of being burdened with heavy duties, from which their rivals were exempted, that they abandoned the struggle as hopeless. Their only alternative now was to resign the Indian trade altogether, or endeavour to re-open its ancient channels. In preferring the latter, they were met at the very outset by deep-rooted prejudices, which made it unlawful and even impious to enter into alliances of any kind with Mahometan rulers; but no sooner were these prejudices overcome than the remainder of the task was comparatively easy. With the sanction of the pope himself, who on this occasion, as on many others, allowed the supposed impiety to be committed in consideration of the profit anticipated from it, a commercial treaty was concluded with the Sultan of Egypt. It contemplated the carrying on of the Eastern traffic

Venetians league with the sultan.

A.D. 1453. both by the overland route across Syria, and by the way of the Red Sea. With this view the Venetian senate was empowered to appoint two consuls, with mercantile jurisdiction, the one to reside at Damascus and the other at Alexandria. Both of these cities were accordingly resorted to by Venetian merchants and artisans; while at Beyrout, as the port of the former, and in the harbour of the latter, mercantile vessels bearing the Venetian flag far outnumbered those of all other countries. The Genoese, contented with their undisputed monopoly at Constantinople, seem not at this time to have made any attempt to share in the advantages which the Egyptian sultans had conferred on the Venetians; but the Florentines, after they had, by the conquest of Pisa, in 1405, acquired the seaport of Leghorn, turned their attention to the Indian trade, and succeeded, in 1425, in concluding a treaty which placed them on the same footing as the Venetians in respect of commercial privilege. The earnest attempts thus made to share in the trade to the East Indies, would of themselves lead to the conclusion that a taste for the products of the regions included under that general name must no longer have been confined, as at first, to a few countries on the eastern part of the Mediterranean, but must have spread far west and north, so as to include a large portion of Europe. The fact was really so; and there is not much difficulty in accounting for it. Many of the most distinguished leaders of the Crusades, with their followers, came from those quarters; and on their return brought home with them new ideas and new wants. To their astonishment they had found that in several points, usually considered as tests of civilization, they were far surpassed by the infidels whom they had been accustomed to regard as mere barbarians. Galled by their inferiority in these respects, they had little difficulty in learning to surmount it; and imbibed tastes and formed habits which they could not indulge in the absence of Eastern products. The demand naturally produced a supply; and Italian ships, freighted with these products, were frequently seen in the English Channel, in the German Ocean, and even within the Baltic. In course of time the maritime spirit of the North was completely roused; and its merchants, instead of waiting for Italian visits, sent their own vessels into the Mediterranean, and there became purchasers of Indian produce at second hand from the Florentines, Venetians, and Genoese. In this traffic the lead was taken by the cities of the Hanseatic League, and particularly by Bruges, which in consequence became one of the most populous and flourishing marts in Northern Europe.

The Florentines.

European demand for Indian commodities.

Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

The Genoese were still in possession of their monopoly in 1453, when an event occurred which abruptly terminated it, and was followed by a series of disasters which ultimately annihilated their maritime greatness. This event was the capture of Constantinople, and the extinction of the Greek empire, by the Turks under Mahomet II. They made an effort to escape the destruction which threatened them, by attempting to form a commercial treaty with the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt; but the monopoly which they had held at Con-

stantinople under the Greek emperors, placed them in a false position, and the negotiation proved fruitless. The Venetians, accordingly, were once more in the ascendent. Their most formidable rival had been obliged to resign the contest; and they began to run a new course of prosperity, to which, as far as human foresight reached, no limit could be assigned. At this period of unexampled prosperity Venice was tottering to her fall.

Cris.
A.D. 1460.

The revival of learning and the discovery of printing had at once awakened a spirit of inquiry, and furnished the most effectual means of diffusing it. In all departments of literature and science rapid progress was made; and discoveries leading to practical results in some of the most important arts of life, were constantly rewarding the diligent inquirer, and stimulating others to follow in his footsteps. Among the arts thus improved was navigation. Hitherto, when the shore was lost sight of, there had been no means of directing the course of a vessel at sea; and the utmost which the boldest and most experienced navigator attempted, was to steer from headland to headland without hugging the intervening shore, or to take advantage of a wind which blew regularly like the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, and thus use it according to the direction from which it blew for traversing a wide expanse of sea on an outward or a homeward voyage. When the compass was discovered, the greatest obstacle to a voyage out of sight of land was at once removed; and there was even less danger in launching out on the wide ocean than in following the windings of the coast, exposed to rocks and shoals, and the many dangers of a lee shore.

Progress of
the art of
navigation.

Among the first who proposed to turn the use of the compass to practical account in the discovery of new lands, was the celebrated Christopher Columbus. He had become satisfied, both on scientific grounds and from the accounts of travellers, particularly those of Marco Polo, that as the continent of Asia extended much further eastward than had been generally imagined, it would be possible to arrive at the East Indies by sailing west across the Atlantic. The immense importance of such a passage,



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.—From Boissard.

once proved to be practicable, was perfectly obvious. It would at once dispense with the tedious and expensive overland routes by which the produce of the East was then brought to Europe, and transfer the most valuable traffic with which the world was yet acquainted, from the hands of infidels to those of Christians. These were the grand objects at which Columbus aimed; but so much were his views in advance of his age, that many years

Christopher
Columbus.

A D. 1463. passed away before he could induce any European state to incur the expense which would be necessary in order to realize them. Spain at last undertook the task, and was rewarded with the discovery of a New World. This was more than even Columbus had anticipated. Though his geographical ideas were far more accurate than those of his contemporaries, he had greatly underrated the magnitude of the globe; and hence, imagining that the land which he first reached belonged to Asia, he gave it the name of West Indies. In this name he informs us of the goal after which he had been striving, and which he was so confident of having actually attained, that for a time he would scarcely believe the evidence of his senses, and insisted that everything which he saw was Indian. The delusion under which Columbus thus laboured is a striking proof of the general interest which was now felt in regard to India, and of the eager longings of the maritime states of Europe to obtain a share in its trade, without being fettered by the monopolies which the Mahometans and Venetians had established in the Levant.

Probable
routes to
the East
Indies.

Though Columbus failed to discover an oceanic route to India, he clearly pointed out the direction in which it lay. It was previously known that the Atlantic was bounded on the east by the continents of Europe and Africa, and he had now proved that an equally insurmountable barrier bounded it on the west. The conclusion, therefore, was obvious, that if India was accessible from Europe by a continuous sea voyage, it could only be by tracing one or other of these continents to its termination, and then sailing round it. In accordance with this conclusion, four lines of passage presented themselves as possible—a north-west, a north-east, a south-west, and a south-east. The three first were subsequently attempted; but the last, which was certainly the most promising, is the only one with which we have now to do.

Prince
Henry of
Portugal.

As early as 1415, more than twenty years before Columbus was born, Prince Henry, fourth son of John I., King of Portugal, after distinguishing himself at the capture of Ceuta, on the coast of Africa, returned with a determination to devote himself to maritime discovery, by employing navigators to trace the western coast of that continent, and thereby perhaps solve the great problem of a practicable route to the East Indies, by sailing round its southern extremity. He had all the talent and scientific acquirement necessary, in order to qualify him for superintending the great task thus undertaken, and gave a striking proof of his inflexibility of purpose by withdrawing from court, and fixing his residence in the seaport of Sagres, not far from Cape St. Vincent. Here he erected an observatory, and established a school of navigation for the training of youth, whom he might afterwards employ on voyages of discovery. He was not destined to solve the grand problem; but before his death, in 1463, had paved the way for it, by fitting out expeditions, which, leaving Cape Non (so called because no previous navigator had passed it) far behind, discovered Madeira and the Cape Verd Islands, and penetrated as far south as Sierra Leone.

The spirit of enterprise which Prince Henry had fostered was not allowed to expire with him; and under Alonso V., who was then reigning, the African coast was explored almost to the equator. John II., the son and successor of Alonso, continuing the progress of discovery, was so convinced that India would ultimately be reached, that, in 1484, he took a step which, though of an extraordinary nature, appears to have been dictated by sound and far-sighted policy. Great exertions had been made by the government of Portugal in fitting out expeditions for maritime discovery; and now, when they seemed about to be crowned with success, the danger was, that other states might step in and insist on sharing in the fruits. As the best means of preventing this, he sent ambassadors to several of the leading European courts, and offered them the alternative of either uniting with him, and furnishing men and money to assist in the conquests which he was contemplating, on the understanding that a fair proportion of the benefit would be awarded them, or leave him to proceed as hitherto, on his own entire responsibility, and of course, in common fairness, for his own exclusive benefit.

A. D. 1486.

Progress of
discovery
under
Alonso V.
and
John II.

This attempt to form what may be called a joint-stock company, in which kings were to be the only shareholders, failed. All the crowned heads applied to, declined to entertain the proposal; and John took the additional precaution of calling in the aid of the pope, who, in the plenitude of an arrogant power, then undisputed, but soon after to be shaken to its very foundations, drew an imaginary line from north to south, by which he divided the world into two equal halves, and decreed that discoveries of new countries made from west to east should only be competent, and should belong exclusively to the Portuguese. It seems not to have occurred either to the king or the pope that discoveries made from east to west might be carried so far as to make this grant futile, and convert it into a great bone of contention.

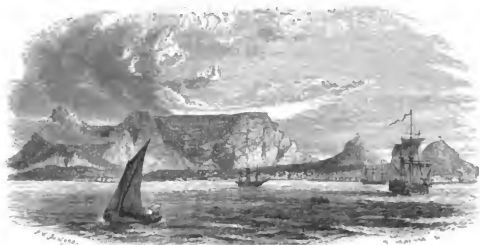
Grant from
the pope.

From this period the King of Portugal assumed the additional title of Lord of Guinea, and evinced a determination to turn his grant to the best account. Besides fitting out an expedition, under Diego Cam, who, in 1484, reached 22° of south latitude, and must consequently have been within 12° of the southern extremity of the African continent, he sent two messengers overland with instructions to discover the country of Prester John, then believed to be a great reality, though since ascertained to have had only a fabulous existence. They were also to ascertain whence the drugs and spices came which the Venetians traded in, and whether there was any sailing from the south of Africa to India. One of these messengers, Pedro de Covillam, succeeded in reaching India, and obtained much important information; but before the letter conveying it reached Portugal, the great problem had been solved by Bartolommeo Diaz, who had sailed south with three ships in 1486. After reaching a higher southern latitude than any previous navigator, a storm arose which drove him out to sea. His direction under such circumstances could not

Overland
journey to
the East.

A. D. 1493. be accurately ascertained, but he knew it to be southerly. After tossing about for thirteen days, and suffering much by a sudden transition of the temperature from hot to cold, he attempted, when the storm abated, to regain the land by steering eastward. He reached it; but, to his great astonishment, discovered that the land which, when he quitted it, lay on his left hand, nearly due north and south, was now stretching east and west, and trending north-east. The cause was too apparent to leave any room for doubt. He had been carried round the southern extremity of Africa, and was now on its south-eastern coast. He was most anxious to prosecute this auspicious commencement, but his crews refused to follow him, and he was obliged to turn his face homewards. He was so far rewarded, for a few days brought him in sight of the magnificent promontory in which Africa terminates. The weather he had met with, and,

Diaz doubles
the Cape of
Good Hope.



CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—From an old print.

perhaps, also a painful remembrance of the conduct of his crews in forcing him to return, determined him to give it the name of *Cabo de Todos los Tormentos*, or Cape of Storms, but the king, on his return, thinking this name ominous, chose one much more appropriate, and, in allusion to the great promise which the doubling of the promontory held out, called it *Cabo de Buena Esperanza*, or Cape of Good Hope.

Arrival of
Columbus
in the
Tagus.

It is singular that, though John survived this discovery nine years, he made no attempt to follow it up. One cause of the indifference thus manifested may have been the mortification which he felt at the still more brilliant success which Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had achieved by the employment of Christopher Columbus. This renowned navigator, returning from his discovery of a New World, arrived in the Tagus in 1493. Before applying to Spain, he had offered his services to Portugal, and been refused. What would John not now have given to be able to recall that refusal? It was too late; but he had counsellors base enough to suggest that the remedy was still in his own hands. He had only to assassinate Columbus, and take possession of his papers; his

discovery would thus die with him. Happily for his own fame he spurned the infamous suggestion; and Columbus, after a becoming reception, not less honourable to the giver than it must have been gratifying to the receiver, continued his triumphant progress to the court of Spain.

A.D. 1497.

John was succeeded in 1495 by his cousin Emanuel, who was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of enterprise which had animated his predecessors. Timid counsellors were not wanting who advised him to rest satisfied with the discoveries already made, and not run the risk of impoverishing his hereditary dominions by expensive expeditions, of which it was impossible to foresee the final result; but his resolution had been formed, and there could be no doubt what it was, when he was seen, in the third year of his reign, fitting out a new expedition for the avowed purpose of not only doubling the Cape of Good Hope, but afterwards continuing the voyage without intermission till the coast of India was reached. In this expedition, which consisted of three small ships, carrying 160 men, Bartolommeo Diaz held only a subordinate station. Nor had he even the satisfaction of seeing his discovery prosecuted by others; for, on arriving at the fort of El Mina, he was sent back to Portugal, and not long after his return perished at sea.

Portuguese
discovery
under
Emanuel

The command of the expedition, thus rather ungenerously withheld from Diaz, was conferred on Vasco de Gama, a gentleman of the royal household, who had previously done good service at sea, and, by his subsequent conduct, justified the choice which had been made of him. After a pompous ceremonial, more in accordance with the great object contemplated by the expedition than with the very inadequate means furnished for its accomplishment, the three small ships left the port of Belem, on Saturday, the 8th of July, 1497. They were accompanied by a small bark carrying provisions, and a caravel, of which Diaz was captain. Off the Canaries the vessels encountered a storm, which separated them, but they met again at Cape Verd, which had been fixed as the place of rendezvous. Having next day anchored at Santa Maria, on the African coast, they repaired their damages, and took in water. Diaz, proceeding no farther, returned homewards; the other vessels pursued their voyage. Another storm, still more violent than the former, overtook them; and they had almost given up all hope of weathering it, when it abated, and they took shelter in a bay, to which they gave the name of Santa Elena. Vasco de Gama attempted to hold communication with the natives, but



VASCO DE GAMA.
From Vincent's *Voyage of Nearchus*.

De Gama
enters the
bay of Santa
Elena.

A D. 1498. met with an inhospitable reception, which left him no inclination to prolong his stay. He set sail again on the 16th of November, having already been more than four months at sea; and two days after came within sight of the Cape of Good Hope, which, after tacking about in consequence of baffling winds, they doubled on the 20th of November, amid the sound of music and general rejoicing.

De Gama's
course along
east coast
of Africa.

They were now fairly launched on the Indian Ocean, but instead of steering right across it, continued for a time to follow the coast, making careful observations, and daily discovering some new object to excite their wonder. On Christmas, 1497, they saw land, which, in honour of the day, they called *Tierra de Natal*; and which, still retaining its name, promises to rise into importance as a British colony. The next land visited belonged to the Kaffres, with whom they had much friendly intercourse.

In proceeding farther north, the expedition was much impeded by currents, which induced De Gama to give the name of *Cabo de Corrientes* to a prominent headland, and to keep far out to sea in order to avoid the risk of being embayed. Owing to this, Sofala, which was then the great emporium of this part of Africa, was passed without being seen. The natives appeared now to be more civilized than those who had previously been seen, and instead of the timid and suspicious looks which others had manifested, made themselves as familiar with the Portuguese as if they had been old acquaintances. As their language was not understood, the conversation by signs was necessarily confined within very narrow limits, but enough was communicated to satisfy Vasco de Gama that they were accustomed to mingle with people in a still more advanced state of civilization. Two chiefs in particular, who paid him a visit in their own boats, gave him to understand that they had seen ships as large as those of the Portuguese; and after they had returned to the shore, sent two pieces of calico on board for sale. This cloth, which it is almost needless to mention, takes its usual name from the town of Calicut, excited a particular interest in the Portuguese, because supposing it, perhaps erroneously, to be the product of that city, it was the first specimen of Indian manufacture which they had met with in their voyage. It was regarded as an omen of future success in their great undertaking, and hence Vasco de Gama gave to the stream, at the mouth of which these transactions took place, the name of *Rio de Buenas Sinays*, or River of Good Signs.

His proceed-
ings at Mo-
sambique

Having again set sail on the 24th of February, 1498, the vessels continued their voyage along the coast through the channel of Mosambique, and on arriving opposite to the town of that name, were hailed by a number of little boats, the crews of which made signs to stay for them. The vessels cast anchor, and the boatmen, without showing the least fear, leaped at once aboard, made themselves perfectly at home, ate and drank freely, and conversed in Arabic with one of the crew who understood that language. The intercourse at first

promised to be very friendly, but on its being discovered by the sheikh or chief, that the Portuguese were not, as he had originally supposed, Turks and Mahometans, but Christians, his manner suddenly changed, and all his seeming friendship was at an end. Ultimately open hostilities were declared, and the Portuguese avenged themselves by bombarding and destroying the town of Mosambique.

A D. 1498.

The vessels again weighing anchor, continued their course northwards, and arrived at the island of Mombas, with a town of same name. Here the seeming friendship of the Moors proved as false as that of the inhabitants of Mosambique; and Vasco de Gama, believing, on the confession of two Moors, whom he barbarously put to the torture by dropping hot bacon upon their flesh, that a plot had been formed for his destruction, hastened his departure, and did not again halt till he arrived off Melinda, which delighted the Portuguese, as it reminded them more of home than any African city they had yet seen. It was seated on the level part of a rocky shore, amid plantations of palms and orchards of orange and other fruit trees, covered a large space, and consisted of houses built of stone, three stories high, and with terraced roofs.

Proceedings
at Mombas
and Me-
linda.

At first the inhabitants, who were probably acquainted with the transactions at Mosambique and Mombas, kept aloof, but a good understanding was eventually established; and the king, though a Mahometan, so far forgot his prejudices that he afforded the Portuguese every facility for obtaining provisions, and even made a formal visit in his barge.

It was now unnecessary for the Portuguese to continue their course along the African coast. Their object had been to obtain such information as might enable them to proceed with safety across the ocean towards India. Melinda furnished them with all that they required. Four ships from India were then lying in its harbour, and little difficulty was found in obtaining a pilot capable of acting as their guide. This pilot, named Melema Kana, was a native of Gujerat, and had a thorough knowledge of his profession. The compass, charts, and quadrants were quite familiar to him; and an astrolabe shown him seemed so inferior to other instruments which he had seen used for the same purpose, that he scarcely condescended to notice it. Before leaving Melinda, De Gama was visited by persons belonging to the Indian ships. He imagined them to be Christians, because on coming aboard they prostrated themselves before an image of the Virgin, probably mistaking it for one of their own idols; but it is plain, from the description given of them, that they were Hindoos. They were clothed in long gowns of white calico, wore their hair, which was long like that of women, plaited under their turbans, and ate no beef.

A Gujerat
pilot en-
gaged.

The expedition sailed from Melinda on Tuesday, the 22d of April, 1498, and after a prosperous voyage of twenty-three days, saw India, on Friday, the 17th of May. They were off the Malabar coast, which was at the distance of eight leagues, and rose high and bold from the sea. Their destination was Calicut,

Arrival on
the Malabar
coast.

A.D. 1498. and as they were considerably north of it, they changed their course to south-east. On the 20th they beheld, to their unspeakable delight, the lofty wooded terraces rising behind that city, and shortly after cast anchor about two leagues below it.

Calicut. Calicut, situated on the open beach, without roadstead or harbour, though partially protected by a rocky bank, inside of which small vessels lie tolerably



CALICUT.—Brun et Hogenburg, *Theatre des principales Villes de tous les Univers*, 1574.

sheltered, was then the capital of a Hindoo sovereign, who, under the title of *samiry* or *zamorin*, ruled a considerable extent of country in the south-west of the peninsula. This title is probably the corruption of Tamuri, the name of a rajah on whom, according to popular tradition, a prince called Cheruman, after dividing his territories among his other chieftains, had nothing more remaining to bestow than his sword, "with all the territory in which a cock crowing at a small temple here could be heard"¹. The territory thus assigned took, from the singular nature of the grant, the name of Colico-du, or the Cock-crowing, which in course of time was metamorphosed into Calicut. This account may be set aside as fabulous; but it is certain that in whatever way the original nucleus of the territory was acquired, the sword of Cheruman proved the most valuable part of his bequest, and enabled Tamuri to place himself at the head of all his brother chieftains, and transmit his power to a series of successors. One of these had been converted to Mahometanism² by some pilgrims who had been wrecked on his coast while proceeding to visit Adam's Peak in Ceylon; and, with the zeal of a new convert, set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He never returned; but the favour shown to Mahometans during his reign, and the encouragement which, in consequence of his recommendation, they received from his successor, had induced them to settle in great numbers, and enabled them to acquire much influence in Cranganore, Calicut, and the surrounding

¹ Buchanan, *Narrative of a Journey from Madras, through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. ii. p. 471.

² Brigg's *Perihta*, vol. iv. p. 531, 532.

districts. Such was the state of matters when the Portuguese arrived, and it is necessary to attend to it, as furnishing a key to many subsequent proceedings.

A. D. 1498

First landing of the Portuguese in India.

De Gama having anchored, as already mentioned, was immediately visited by some small fishing-boats, and under their guidance sailed as near to Calicut as the depth of water would allow. He had brought several criminals from Portugal, whose sentence had been remitted in consideration of the danger to which they were to be exposed by being sent ashore to hold intercourse with the natives, under circumstances too hazardous to justify the employment of any of the crew. One of these criminals was accordingly despatched along with the fishermen, in order that the reception given him might enable De Gama to shape his future course. He was immediately surrounded by a crowd whose curiosity could hardly be satisfied, though it was more importunate than rude. As his ignorance of the language made it useless to ask him any questions, they took him to the house of two Moors, one of whom, called Monzaide—who, from being a native of Tunis, knew him to be Portuguese—gave utterance to his astonishment by exclaiming in Spanish, “The devil take you! What brought you hither?” After some explanations, Monzaide went off with him to the ships, and on approaching De Gama, cried aloud in Spanish, “Good luck! good luck! Many rubies, many emeralds! Thou art bound to give God thanks for having brought thee where there are all sorts of spices and precious stones, with all the riches of the world.” De Gama and his crew were so surprised and affected at meeting with one who could speak their language so far from home, that they wept for joy.

De Gama invited ashore.

Having learned from Monzaide that the zamorin was then at Ponany, a village at the mouth of a river of same name, about thirty-six miles south from Calicut, De Gama immediately announced his arrival, intimating at the same time that he was the bearer of a letter to him from his master the King of Portugal, a Christian prince. The zamorin, in answer, bade him welcome, and sent a pilot to conduct the ships to a safer anchorage, near a village called Pandarane. He accepted of the services of the pilot, but demurred at first to avail himself of an invitation by the *cotwal* or chief magistrate, to go ashore and proceed by land to Calicut. On second thoughts, however, he became convinced that this was a risk which he ought to run; and while his brother Paul, who commanded one of the ships, and the other officers, reminded him of the danger to be apprehended, not so much from the natives, whom they insisted on regarding as Christians, as from the Moors, whose deadly enmity they had already experienced on the African coast, he announced his determination, let what would betide him, to go ashore and leave no means untried to settle a treaty of commerce and perpetual amity.

On the 28th of May, after leaving orders that in the event of any accident befalling him, the vessels were to return home with the news of his discovery, he set out in his boat, attended by twelve of his company, with flags waving

His first visit to the zamorin.

A.D. 1498

De Gama's
first visit to
the zamorin.

and trumpets sounding. The cotwal was waiting to receive him with 200 *nairs*, understood to be the nobility of the country, and a large promiscuous assemblage. Two palanquins had been provided, one for De Gama and another for the cotwal; the rest of the attendants followed on foot. During the journey they paid a visit to a temple built of freestone, covered with tiles, and as large as a great monastery. In front of it stood a pillar as high as the mast of a ship, made of wire, with a weather-cock on the top, and over the entrance hung seven bells. The interior was full of images; and these, as well as some of the ceremonies, confirming the Portuguese in their previous belief that the natives were Christians, they began to pay their devotions. The dimness of the light did not allow them to see the kind of figures they were worshipping, but on looking around they discerned monstrous shapes on the walls, some with great teeth sticking an inch out of their mouth, others with four arms and such frightful faces, that one of the Portuguese, on beholding one of them, before which he was making his genuflexion, exclaimed, "If this be the devil, it is God I worship." On approaching the city the multitude became immense, and the cotwal halted at the house of his brother, who was waiting, along with a number of *nairs*, to conduct De Gama with all the pomp of an ambassador into the royal presence. Though almost stifled by the press, he was so much gratified that he could not help observing to those around him, "They little think in Portugal what honour is done us here."

His reception at the palace.

The palace, at which they arrived an hour before sunset, had a handsome appearance, and was surrounded by trees, and gardens adorned with fountains. It was entered by a series of five inclosures, each having its own separate gate; and such was the eagerness of the populace to squeeze themselves in, that several were crushed to death. At the grand entrance De Gama was received by the chief minister and high-priest, a little old man, who, after embracing him, took him with his attendants into the presence. The hall of audience was set round with seats, rising as in a theatre; the floor was carpeted with green velvet, and the walls hung round with silks of diverse colours. At the head of the hall the zamorin lay reclined on a kind of sofa, with a covering of white silk wrought with gold, and a rich canopy overhead. He was a large, stout man, of dark complexion, advanced in years, and with something majestic in his appearance. He wore a short coat of fine calico, adorned with branches and roses of beaten gold; the buttons were large pearls. Another piece of white calico reached to his knees. A kind of mitre, glittering with pearls and precious stones, covered his head; his ears were strung with jewels of the same kind; and both his fingers and toes were loaded with diamond rings. His arms and legs, left naked, were adorned with gold bracelets. Near him stood two gold basons and a gold fountain; the one bason contained betel and areca nut, which was handed him by an attendant, the other received it when chewed; the fountain supplied water to rinse his mouth.

After De Gama entered and made his obeisance according to the custom of the country, by bowing his body three times and lifting up his hands, the zamorin looked kindly at him, recognized him by a scarcely perceptible inclination of the head, and ordered him by signs to advance and sit down near him. The attendants being admitted, took their seats opposite, and were regaled with fruits. On calling for water to drink, a golden cup with a spout was brought, but they were told that it was considered bad manners to touch the vessel with their lips. The awkwardness of the Portuguese, who, in attempting to drink by the spout, either choked themselves with the water or spilled it upon their clothes, gave much amusement to the court. De Gama having been asked by the zamorin to open his business, gave him to understand that the custom of princes in Europe was to hear ambassadors in the presence of only a few of their chief counsellors. The suggestion was immediately adopted, and the audience took place in another apartment similar to the former, where only De Gama and another Portuguese, who acted as his interpreter, on the one side, and the zamorin, his chief minister, the comptroller of his household, and his betel-server on the other, were present. When asked whence he came, and with what object, De Gama answered that he was an ambassador of the King of Portugal, the greatest prince in all the West, who, having heard that there were Christian princes in the Indies, of whom the King of Calicut was the chief, had sent an ambassador to conclude a treaty of trade and friendship with him. He added, that for sixty years the King of Portugal and his predecessors had been endeavouring to discover India by sea, and had at length succeeded for the first time. In anticipation of this success, the king, his master, had intrusted him with two letters, the delivery of which, as it was now late, he would, with the zamorin's permission, defer till to-morrow. De Gama had reason to think he had made a favourable impression, as the zamorin repeated his welcome, made inquiries as to the distance to Portugal, and the time occupied by the voyage, and declared his willingness not only to recognize the King of Portugal as his friend and brother, but to send an ambassador to his court.

A. D. 1498.

The interview.

De Gama, after passing the night with his attendants in a lodging specially provided for them, began next morning to prepare a present for the zamorin. He was not well supplied for that purpose; but after selecting four pieces of scarlet, six hats, four branches of coral, six almasars, a parcel of brass, a chest of sugar, two barrels of oil and two of honey, sent for the royal factor and cotwal to ask their opinion. On looking at the articles they burst into a laugh, and told him that the poorest merchant who came to the port made a better present. A kind of altercation arose, and at last the factor and cotwal departed, after taking his promise that he would not visit the king till they returned to go with him. He waited the whole day, but they never appeared. On the day following, when they arrived, and he complained of their behaviour, they made

De Gama's proposed present.

A D. 1498. light of it and began to talk indifferently of other matters. The fact was that they had been gained by the Moors, who, fearing that their interests might be seriously affected by the opening up of a new trade with Europe, and the consequent decline of that which had hitherto been carried on by the Red Sea, were determined to leave no means untried to frustrate the object of the Portuguese expedition.

De Gama's
second visit
to the za-
morin.

When De Gama went to the palace to pay the visit which, according to appointment, should have been paid a day sooner, the effect of the Moorish intrigue was very apparent. He was kept waiting for three hours; and when at last admitted, was told angrily by the zamorin that he had waited for him all the day before. He was then asked how it was that, if he came from so great and rich a prince as he represented his king to be, he brought no present with him, though in every embassy of friendship that must be regarded as a necessary credential. De Gama made the best excuse possible in the circumstances, by referring to the uncertain issue of his voyage, which made it imprudent to provide a present which there might be no opportunity of delivering, and promising that if he lived to carry home the news of his discovery, a suitable present would certainly arrive. The zamorin, not yet satisfied, observed, "I hear you have a St. Mary in gold, and desire I may have that." De Gama, taken somewhat aback at this demand, replied that the image was not gold, but only wood gilded; and as he attributed his preservation at sea to its influence, he must be excused for not parting with it. The zamorin, quitting the subject, asked for the two letters, which indeed contained only the same thing in duplicate, the one written in Portuguese and the other in Arabic. The latter, interpreted by Monzaide, was in purport as follows:—"As soon as it was known to the King of Portugal that the King of Calicut, one of the mightiest princes of all the Indies, was a Christian, he was desirous to cultivate a trade and friendship with him, for the conveniency of lading spices in his ports; for which, in exchange, the commodities of Portugal should be sent, or else gold and silver, in case his majesty chose the same; referring it to the general, his ambassador, to make a further report." This letter, and the noble bearing of Vasco de Gama, who throughout the interview behaved in a manner becoming the high character which he claimed, disabused the mind of the zamorin of the impression received of him through the intrigues of the Moors, who had sedulously circulated a rumour that he was no ambassador, but merely a pirate. He therefore conversed with him in the most friendly manner, and gave him full liberty to bring any merchandise he had with him ashore and dispose of it to the best advantage.

King of Por-
tugal's
letter.

Effect of
Moorish
intrigues

The next day, the 31st of May, De Gama prepared to return to his ships, and was actually on the way to Pandarane, when the Moors, fearing that if he once got away he would not again return, induced the cotwal, by a large bribe, to hasten after and detain him, so as to afford them an opportunity of disposing

of him summarily. The cotwal accordingly set out in pursuit, and found De Gama hastening on considerably in advance of his attendants. The cotwal rallied him on his haste, and asked him if he was running away. He answered, "Yes; I am running away from the heat;" and continued his journey, the cotwal keeping close by him till he reached the village. It was sunset before his men came up, but he called immediately for a boat. The cotwal at first endeavoured to dissuade him, but finding him resolute, pretended to send for the boatmen, while at the same time he sent another message, ordering them to keep out of the way. The consequence was that no boat appeared, and there was no alternative but to pass the night on shore.

In the morning matters assumed a still more threatening appearance. The cotwal, instead of bringing a boat, told him to order his ships nearer shore, and on his refusal, threw off all disguise, telling him that as he would not do what he was ordered he should not go on board. De Gama was thus to all intents a prisoner. The doors of his lodging were shut, and several nairs with drawn swords kept guard within. Coello meantime had come with his boats within a short distance of the shore; and, fortunately, by communicating with one of De Gama's sailors, who had been left outside, was apprised of his situation. The cotwal, while he still detained him, seemed afraid to proceed to violent extremes; and after finding that he could not lure the vessels into the harbour, so as to give the Moors an opportunity of destroying them, changed his tactics and asked only that the merchandise should be sent ashore.

His object apparently was to appropriate it to himself; and as De Gama's presence interfered with this object, he was easily induced, as soon as the merchandise arrived, to allow him to depart.

De Gama, once free of the cotwal and his associates, determined not again to place himself in their power, but took care by his factor, Diego Diaz, brother of the more celebrated Bartolommeo, who first doubled the Cape, to acquaint the zamorin with the unworthy treatment to which he had been subjected. The zamorin seemed much incensed, and promised both to punish the offenders and send merchants to purchase the goods. He could scarcely have been sincere, for the insolence of the Moors increased; and the goods, which they took every opportunity to depreciate, found few purchasers. A kind of traffic, however, was established; and after permission was given to remove the goods from Pandarane to Calicut, as a more suitable market, much friendly intercourse took

A.D. 1498.

De Gama
forcibly de-
tained ashore

SHIP OF SPAIN, FIFTEENTH CENTURY.—From
Epistola Cristofori Colombo, &c., 1800.

His release.

Traffic
commenced.

A. D. 1498. place between the Portuguese and the natives. They were not destined, however, to part so amicably.

The zamorin
becomes
hostile.

More than two months had elapsed since the arrival of the Portuguese vessels, and as the north-east monsoon, on which they depended for their return homewards, was about to set in, De Gama, on the 10th of August, sent Diego Diaz to the zamorin with a present of scarfs, silks, coral, and other things, and a notification of his intention to depart. He was obliged to wait four days for admission, and was then received with a frowning countenance. The zamorin's mind had been completely poisoned; and he regarded the Portuguese either as pirates, who had come for plunder, or spies, who, after acquainting themselves with the country, intended to return with a fleet sufficient to invade it. Accordingly a guard was set over the house which the Portuguese had used for a factory, preventing all egress; and a proclamation issued prohibiting all intercourse with the Portuguese ships.

De Gama, on learning what had happened, was much incensed, but determined to proceed warily, and employ craft against craft. Two days after the proclamation, four lads arrived in an *almadia*, with precious stones for sale. They were suspected to be spies; but De Gama spoke to them as if he were entirely ignorant of what had taken place in Calicut, and allowed them



AN ALMADIA.—From HUGHEN'S *Discourse of Voyages in Indostan*, 1585.

De Gama
retaliates.

to depart, in the hope that their return would induce other persons of more consequence to pay him a visit. Nor was he mistaken. For the zamorin, convinced by De Gama's conduct that he was ignorant of the detention of his factor Diaz, and his secretary Braga, who were both in the factory when the guard was set over it, sent people on board to keep him amused till he should be able to effect the destruction of his ships by preparing a fleet in his own ports, or bringing one from Mecca for that purpose. De Gama kept his own counsel, till one day when six of the principal inhabitants arrived with fifteen attendants. He immediately seized them, and sent a letter ashore, demanding his factor and secretary in exchange. After some parleying, Diaz and Braga were sent aboard, and the principal inhabitants, who were nairs, were returned. The attendants, however, were detained, on the plea that some of the Portuguese merchandise was still unaccounted for. This was mere pretence on De Gama's part, for he had already determined to carry off the poor natives to Portugal, and exhibit them as the vouchers of his discovery. Immediately after making this announcement to those who had been sent for the natives, and desiring them to inform the zamorin that he would shortly return and give him full means of judging

whether the Christians were thieves, as the Moors had persuaded him, he weighed anchor and set sail on his homeward voyage. A.D. 1500.

Two days after their departure, when the ships were lying becalmed a league from Calicut, the zamorin's fleet of forty vessels was seen approaching, full of soldiers. Their object was obvious; but the Portuguese, by means of their ordnance, managed to keep them at bay till a gale fortunately sprung up, and they got clear off, though not without being pursued for an hour and a half. De Gama, for a short time, kept near the coast; and when within twelve leagues of Goa, received the alarming intelligence that the whole coast was in motion, and that in all its harbours vessels were being fitted out for the purpose of intercepting him. Longer delay, therefore, seemed dangerous, and he at once put out to sea. The voyage home was tedious and disastrous; but ultimately Belem was reached in September, 1499, after an absence of two years and two months. Of the original crew, only fifty returned alive. The news of their arrival was hailed with extraordinary demonstrations of joy throughout the kingdom; and De Gama, after being conducted into Lisbon in triumphal procession, was raised to new honours and liberally pensioned. So elated was King Emanuel with the success of the expedition, that he forthwith added to his titles that of Lord of the Conquest and Navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies.

De Gama
attacked
by the
zamorin's
fleet.

Arrives in
Portugal.

No time was lost in fitting out a new expedition on a more extended scale. It consisted of thirteen vessels, containing 1200 men, and sailed from Belem on the 9th of March, 1500, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Among the captains were Bartolommeo Diaz, the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope, and his brother, Diego Diaz, who had been factor to Vasco de Gama. The Canaries were seen on the 18th; but from them the course was so far westward that the first land they reached was a new continent, the discovery of which, though little importance appears to have been attached to it at the time, ultimately proved the most valuable acquisition made by the crown of Portugal. It was Brazil. The expedition again sailed on the 2d of May for the Cape of Good Hope, but was thrown into considerable alarm by the appearance of a comet, which continued to increase for ten days, and shone so brightly as to be visible both day and night. The disasters, of which it was dreaded as the forerunner, seemed to be realized by the bursting of a storm with such suddenness and fury that, before the sails could be furled, four of the vessels, one of them commanded by Bartolommeo Diaz, sunk, with every soul on board, and the others were so shattered and filled with water that, had not their sails been so torn as to leave nothing but bare poles, they must certainly have foundered.

Second
Portuguese
expedition

Dreadful as the storm was, it was ultimately weathered, and Cabral found, on its abating, that the Cape of Good Hope was already doubled. Continuing along the south-east coast of Africa, he fell in with two vessels at anchor near Sofala. They took fright and made for the shore, but were pursued and overtaken. They proved to be Moorish vessels bound for Melinda. As the Portu-

Storm off
Cape of
Good Hope.

A D. 1500. guese were on friendly terms with its chief, Cabral was sorry for what had happened, more especially as the most valuable part of the cargo consisted of gold, which, during the terror of the flight, had been thrown overboard. On expressing his regret, the Moorish captain gravely asked whether he had not some wizard with him, who might conjure it up from the bottom of the sea. At Melinda, where the chief proved as friendly as before, Cabral was furnished with two Gujerat pilots. Under their guidance he made a prosperous voyage across the Indian Ocean, and cast anchor within a league of Calicut on the 13th of September.

Cabral
arrives at
Calicut.

Interview
with the
zamorin.

Shortly after his arrival several nairs came on board, bringing the zamorin's welcome, and making great offers of friendship. Cabral was thus induced to take his ships nearer the city, and sent ashore four natives whom Vasco de Gama had carried off. He afterwards sent a messenger, intimating that he came from Portugal purely to settle trade and friendship; but, taught by De Gama's experience, he refused to land till hostages were given. This demand produced some delay and altercation, but at last six of the principal natives arrived, and Cabral ventured ashore. The interview took place in a pavilion, erected on purpose, near the water-edge. The zamorin, dressed nearly as when De Gama visited him, dazzled all eyes with the size and brilliancy of the diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and pearls, which studded his girdle and hung from his ears, or covered his fingers and toes. His chair of state and palanquin, all of gold and silver, curiously wrought, glistened with precious stones; and, among other articles composed of the precious metals, were three gold and seventeen silver trumpets, and various silver lamps, and censers smoking with perfumes. Cabral, after delivering his credentials, and stating the desire of the King of Portugal to enjoy the zamorin's friendship, and establish at Calicut a factory, which should be supplied with all kinds of European goods, and take spices in exchange, or pay for them in ready money, caused the present to be brought in. It consisted of a wrought silver basin gilt, a fountain of the same, a silver cup with a gilt cover, two cushions of cloth of gold, and two of crimson velvet, a cloth of state of the same velvet striped and bound with gold lace, and two rich pieces of arras.

Mutual
distrust.

So far all things had gone on smoothly; but beneath this seeming friendship mutual distrust was at work, preparing for a final rupture. First, the hostages, on learning that Cabral was preparing to return, began to suspect that they might be detained altogether, and endeavoured to escape by leaping into the sea. Some succeeded, while those re-captured were treated with some degree of harshness. Before the misunderstanding thus occasioned was completely cleared up, Cabral proposed to send a message to the zamorin, to ask whether he was willing to finish the agreement which he had begun. So strong was the conviction among the Portuguese that this message would only make matters worse, that Francisco Correa was the only man in the fleet bold enough to volunteer to carry it. Contrary to expectation, Correa met with a friendly

reception, and completed an arrangement by which a regular Portuguese factory was established in Calicut, under the charge of his brother, Ayres Correa. This factor seems to have been very indifferently qualified for his office; and allowed himself to be imposed upon at all hands, and more especially by the Moors, who had never ceased their intrigues from the first moment when the Portuguese made their appearance. At their instigation some hostile manifestations were made, particularly by Khoja Comireci, the admiral of Calicut; and appearances became so alarming that Cabral deemed it necessary to quit the harbour, and stood out to sea. The zamorin expressed deep and apparently sincere regret at the cause of Cabral's removal, and showed a willingness to take whatever steps might be necessary to restore confidence. He gave orders to prevent the interference of the Moors, removed an officer whom he had placed in the factory, and substituted another, who, he thought, would be more acceptable. He even took the still more decided step of removing the factory from a locality which gave the Moors too great control over it, and gave the Portuguese a perpetual grant of a new house more conveniently situated near the sea-shore. The good effect of these measures was soon visible; and the Portuguese walked the streets of Calicut as safely, and as free from molestation, as if they had been in Lisbon.

The Moors, whose resources in intrigue were inexhaustible, determined to break up this understanding, and tried to effect it by a rather singular expedient. Availing themselves of the vindictive feelings of the officer who had been removed from the Portuguese factory, they employed him to persuade Correa that Cabral could not confer a greater service on the zamorin than to capture a large ship, which was bound from Ceylon to Cambay or Gujerat, with elephants. One of these animals, which the zamorin coveted, had been refused; and as he had thus been unable to obtain it by fair means, he would be very glad to obtain it anyhow. The Moors calculated that the master of the vessel, whom they had put on his guard, would be more than a match for the Portuguese admiral, and, at all events, that the Portuguese, by attacking a vessel with which they had no proper ground of quarrel, would justify the reputation which they had given them as mere depredators. Cabral fell too easily into the snare thus laid for him; but, after discovering the trick, made the best reparation he could, by restoring the vessel to its owners.

The Moors, disappointed in their object, resumed their former practices, and threw many obstructions in the way of the Portuguese; who, in consequence, saw the time for their departure approaching while their ships remained unladen. Cabral complained to the zamorin, and was authorized to search the vessels of the Moors and take whatever spices were found in them, only paying the original cost prices. The Moors were too numerous and influential to be thus summarily dealt with; and on one of their ships being seized, obtained permission from the fickle zamorin to retaliate. They took measures accordingly; and

A. D. 1500.

Moorish
intrigues.Portuguese
factory
stormed.

A. D. 1500. having excited a riot, stormed the Portuguese factory. Many of the inmates, and among others Ayres Correa, the principal factor, lost their lives.

Cabral
bombards
Calicut.

Cabral, not having received any apology for this outrage from the zamorin, determined to take his own method of revenge, without giving himself any concern as to the lawfulness of the means. On a sudden, without note of warning, he made a furious onset on ten large ships which were lying in the harbour; and after a contest, during which 600 of the Moors and natives perished, gained possession of the cargoes and set the ships on fire. Not satisfied with this, he opened his fire upon the town. Many of its public buildings were destroyed, and the inhabitants, becoming crowded in their flight, fell in great numbers. The zamorin himself made a narrow escape, as one of his nairs, who was immediately behind him, was struck down by a cannon-ball.

Friendship
of the Rajah
of Cochin.

Peace was now out of the question, and open war was declared. The Portuguese, however, had no idea of abandoning their Indian traffic; and on being dispossessed of one factory, immediately looked out for another. Farther south than Calicut, and bounding with it, was the kingdom or rajahship of Cochin. It recognized the supremacy of Calicut, but had often aspired to independence, and was therefore easily induced to listen to proposals of amity from the Portuguese. The power of these new visitors had been signally displayed in their recent contest with the zamorin; and the King of Cochin could scarcely doubt that, were their powerful aid secured, the yoke of Calicut might soon be shaken off. Accordingly, when Cabral appeared off the coast, and stated his desire to make the town and harbour of Cochin the seat of Portuguese commerce, the terms were easily arranged. The rajah, whose name was Truimpara or Trinumpara, at once agreed to give hostages as a security that the Portuguese should not be treacherously dealt with when ashore, only stipulating that the two nairs whom he sent for the purpose should be changed daily, as they could not eat on shipboard without becoming unfit for the royal presence, or, in other words, losing caste.

The Portu-
guese
remove
thither.

The harbour of Cochin, forming one of a series of lagoons which here line the coast, and have occasional openings by which ships can enter, was far superior to that of Calicut; and the Portuguese saw reason to congratulate themselves on their change of locality; but recent experience made them cautious, and all that Cabral at first ventured to do was to land a factor of the name of Gonzalo Gil Barbosa, a clerk, an interpreter, and four criminals whom he had brought from Portugal, who were to act as servants. Their reception was very gracious; but the court presented none of the dazzling state conspicuous at Calicut. It soon appeared, however, that it possessed more valuable qualities. For every promise made was fulfilled to the letter; and the lading of the Portuguese vessels with the spices which the country produced in abundance, was accomplished without delay. This difference of treatment was probably owing, not so much to the personal qualities of the sovereigns of Calicut and Cochin, as to

their relative positions—the former considering himself strong enough to make his will law, and, if so disposed, to play the tyrant, while the latter, writhing under a galling yoke, was convinced that his best chance of escaping it was to throw himself into the hands of the Portuguese. This feeling of a common interest and a common danger naturally smoothed down many difficulties, and made friendship, when once established, firm and lasting.

A.D. 1501.

The impression which the Portuguese had produced, both by the terror of their arms and the extent of their commercial transactions, was strikingly evinced by the anxiety which several native states now manifested to secure their alliance. From the chiefs of two of these—Cananore, situated considerably north of Calicut, and Coulan, or rather Quilon, situated considerably south of Cochin, in the state of Travancore—messengers arrived to invite the Portuguese to their harbours, promising them spices on cheaper terms than they could be obtained at Cochin. Cabral was, of course, inclined to open communications in as many quarters as possible, with a view to subsequent traffic; but at the time it was impossible to do more than promise a future visit, as he had more serious work on hand. Just as he was completing his cargo, a formidable fleet, composed of twenty-five large ships, and many smaller vessels, appeared off the coast. It was said to have 15,000 soldiers on board, and to be destined to avenge the injuries inflicted on Calicut. This information was furnished by the Rajah of Cochin, who proved his fidelity to his new allies by offering them all the assistance in his power; but Cabral, thanking him for the offer, felt confident that he would prove more than a match for them single-handed. It would seem, however, that this confidence was somewhat shaken, for after some manœuvring with the view of bringing the enemy to action, he suddenly changed his mind, and sailed away in such haste, that he did not even take time to restore the hostages whom he had received from the rajah. To increase the ignominy of the flight, he was pursued a whole day by the Calicut fleet. When it left him at night he appears to have availed himself of the darkness to regain the Malabar coast, and anchored in front of Cananore, where he took in 400 quintals of cinnamon. The rajah was so friendly that, supposing the want of money to be the reason why he did not take more, he offered him any additional quantity on credit; and showed how anxious he was to cultivate the Portuguese alliance, by actually sending an ambassador with Cabral to Europe for that purpose. Nothing of much interest occurred on the homeward voyage, and Cabral arrived in Lisbon on the 31st of July, 1501. Of the ships which originally formed the expedition only six returned.

Friendly overtures from other rajahs.

Cabral pursued by the zamorin's fleet.

Before Cabral's arrival a third Portuguese expedition was on its way to India. It had sailed in March, and consisted only of three ships and a caravel, with 400 men, under the command of an experienced seaman of the name of Juan de Nueva. His instructions, proceeding on the assumption that Cabral had established factories at Sofala and at Calicut, were to leave two of the vessels with

Third Portuguese expedition.

A D. 1501. their cargoes at the former, and proceed with the two others to the latter town. As a precautionary measure the expedition was to call at San Blas, situated east of the Cape of Good Hope, and wait ten days to give an opportunity of meeting with any of Cabral's ships which might be on their way home. Here they found a letter which had been left for them, detailing the events which had

taken place at Calicut and Cochin. In consequence of this information, Juan de Nueva deemed it imprudent to separate his vessels, and proceeded with the whole for India, arriving in November at Anchediva, a small island on the coast south of Goa. Shortly after he anchored off Cananore, the rajah of which was very urgent that he should land there;



CANANORE.—Brun et Hogenburg, 1574.

but anxiety to learn the state of matters at the factory induced him to decline and hasten on to Cochin.

De Nueva
arrives at
Cochin.

On arriving, he learned that the rajah, though greatly offended with Cabral for leaving without notice and carrying off his hostages, had proved a faithful ally, and given full protection to all the members of the factory; but that the Moors had carried their hostility so far as on one occasion to set fire to it, and in various ways, by depreciating the value of their merchandise, had prejudiced the native traders against them to such a degree, that they refused to part with their spices except for ready money. As this was a commodity with which Juan de Nueva was very scantily provided, he immediately returned to Cananore, where the rajah dealt with him much more liberally, and furnished him with 1000 quintals of pepper, 50 of ginger, and 450 of cinnamon, together with some cotton cloth, to be paid out of the proceeds of the goods which he had lodged for sale in a Portuguese factory established there. While occupied with these commercial transactions, Juan de Nueva received intelligence that a large fleet belonging to the zamorin was on the way to attack him. The rajah who sent the intelligence advised him to land his men and ordnance, and make an entrenchment on shore, as the only effectual means of defence. He was not so easily intimidated; and, on the next day, when 100 vessels were seen entering the bay, he advanced to meet them, and poured in his shot with such good effect, that the zamorin's commander hung out a flag of truce, and, after a parley, agreed to quit the bay, and make the best of his way back to Calicut.

Defeats the
zamorin's
fleet.

This failure made such an impression on the zamorin that he proposed terms of accommodation. Juan de Nueva, probably feeling that his powers were not sufficient for transacting business of so much importance, set sail for Europe. His homeward voyage was prosperous, and he arrived safely with all his ships. A.D. 1502.

The accounts brought home by Cabral satisfied the King of Portugal that he must either fit out his expeditions on a scale of greater magnitude, or desist from the attempt to establish a trade in the East. The latter alternative was not to be thought of; for even under the most adverse circumstances the profit had counterbalanced the loss. It was therefore determined that the next expedition would be more adequate to the objects contemplated. These were not merely to overawe any of the native Indian princes who might be disposed to be hostile, but to chastise the insolence of the Moors by attacking their trade in its principal seat. Accordingly, the expedition now fitted out consisted in all of twenty ships. The command, at first offered to Cabral, was ultimately given to Vasco de Gama, who was to proceed directly to India with ten ships; while his brother, Stephen de Gama, and Vicente Sodre, were each to have the command of a squadron of five, and clear the sea of Moors, the one by scouring the Malabar coast, and the other by cruizing off the entrance to the Red Sea. Expedition under Vasco de Gama.

Vasco de Gama, honoured with the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas, set sail with Vicente Sodre on the 3d of March, 1502, before Juan de Nueva's return; Stephen de Gama did not leave before the 1st of May. Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and sailed up the east coast of Africa, for the purpose of establishing factories at Sofala and Mosambique, Vasco de Gama, after waiting till he was joined by his brother, continued his course across the Indian Ocean, and had arrived within sight of Mount Dilly, a little north of Cananore, when he fell in with a large ship belonging to the Sultan of Egypt. It was richly laden, and had on board many Mahometans of rank and wealth, bound on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He immediately attacked it, and captured it after a vigorous resistance. To his disgrace he made an atrocious use of his victory. Going on board, he called the principal passengers before him, and ordered them to produce whatever property they had in money or in goods. They declared that most of both had been left in Calicut; but on his throwing one of them bound hand and foot into the sea, and threatening to treat all the others in the same way, they became terrified, and yielded to his demand. He had thus secured a rich prize by questionable means, and ought at all events to have been satisfied with it. Instead of this he acted as if he had thrown aside every feeling of humanity, and resolved to play the barbarian, not for the profit, but merely for the pleasure it afforded. After dividing the plunder among his crews, and removing all the children to his own ship, in order to fulfil a vow which bound him to make monks of all the males he should thus capture, he forced all the passengers and crew of the His new title.
He captures an Egyptian ship.

A D. 1592.

De Gama's
barbarity.

Moorish vessel below, and, having nailed down the hatches upon them, told his brother to set it on fire. The fiendish order was executed; but the unhappy victims, rendered desperate, made superhuman efforts, and having broken open the hatches, succeeded in quenching the flames. Had they been the guiltiest wretches possible, instead of being for the most part inoffensive pilgrims, they had now surely done enough to save their lives. But no. Their destruction had been ordered, and Vasco de Gama was not to be satisfied with less. Stephen, who proved himself no unwilling instrument in his brother's hands, was told to board, and made the attempt, but met with such a reception from the Mahometans, when they saw that no mercy was to be expected, as compelled him to retire. Had De Gama been acting under a sudden burst of passion, he had now full time to cool, for night came on, and nothing more could be done till morning. When he rose, it was only to repeat his inhuman order: the vessel was again boarded and set on fire, and 300 persons, of whom thirty were women, were burned to death, or drowned, or slaughtered. Of all who were in the vessel when the capture was made, not a soul escaped except the children, whom this bloody baptism initiated into the Romish faith.

His arrival
at Cananore

After this infamous transaction one almost shudders to mention the name of Vasco de Gama, but the course of the narrative cannot in the meantime proceed without him. In his next proceeding, the caution which he used, when he thought it possible that his own life might be in danger, contrasts strangely with the recklessness he showed when iniquitously disposing of the lives of others. Having anchored off Cananore, he desired an interview with the rajah; but as the captivity he had suffered at Calicut on his first voyage seemed still uppermost in his mind, he adopted the device of having a wooden bridge, which projected a considerable way into the water. At the end of this bridge, which was covered with carpets, a pavilion was reared to form the hall of audience. The rajah made his appearance first, attended by 10,000 nairs, and advanced to the pavilion amid the beating of drums and flourishes of trumpets. De Gama came accompanied by all his boats, adorned with flags, and took his place in the pavilion, under a salute of artillery. The result of the interview was a treaty of amity, and the establishment of a Portuguese factory at Cananore.

His pro-
ceedings at
Calicut.

From Cananore De Gama continued his course to Calicut, and, making his appearance unexpectedly in the roads, captured several small boats, containing about fifty natives. Whatever just cause of quarrel he may have had with the zamorin, these poor creatures were not implicated, and yet, on not obtaining redress for the destruction of the Portuguese factory, and the loss of lives occasioned by it, he hung them up at the yard-arm, and, after they were dead, cut off their arms and feet, and caused them to be carried ashore, with a message to the zamorin, that similar treatment was in reserve for himself for his repeated breaches of faith. To show that he was in earnest, he ordered three ships to stand in as near as possible to the town, and open their fire upon it. The royal

palace was one of the many buildings thus demolished. Without waiting to ascertain the effect, he left Vicente Sodre with a squadron to scour the coast and destroy the Moorish trade, and set sail for Cochin. Here matters were easily re-established on their former friendly footing, mutual presents were exchanged, and a commercial treaty of a more formal nature than that previously existing was concluded. A D. 1508.

The next proceeding of the zamorin was very inexcusable, and, indeed, looks as if he had determined to put himself entirely in the wrong. Hearing that De Gama was lading at Cochin, he sent a messenger, inviting him to Calicut, and promising that everything would be arranged to his entire satisfaction. This was rather a slender foundation on which to negotiate; but peace with Calicut was felt to be so desirable that De Gama determined to make one effort more to secure it, and set out alone, leaving all his other ships behind. The temptation was too strong for the fickle and tortuous court of Calicut; and De Gama, instead of the friendly reception which he had anticipated, was set upon by a large fleet of small vessels, and very narrowly escaped being made prisoner. Further negotiation was of course impossible, though he ought certainly to have disdained to take the petty revenge of putting the zamorin's messenger to death. Treachery of the zamorin.

The details of the conflicts which ensued possess little interest. In one of them De Gama, after putting to flight a large number of small vessels, captured two large Moorish ships, which proved valuable prizes, both of them being richly laden, while on board one of them was an image of gold of thirty pounds weight, with emeralds for its eyes, a robe curiously wrought and set with precious stones for its covering, and on its breast a large ruby. Having again visited Cananore, and united with its rajah and that of Cochin in forming a kind of triple alliance, for mutual defence, De Gama, leaving Vicente Sodre with his squadron, sailed for Europe on the 20th of December, 1503, but did not reach Portugal till the following September. He had again proved himself an able navigator; but his proceedings had rather tarnished than increased his fame. His sovereign, however, was satisfied; and rewarded him with the title of Count of Videgueira. Return of Vasco de Gama to Europe.

Before De Gama departed, the Rajah of Cochin had made him aware of threatening messages which he had received from the zamorin. The peril to which a faithful ally was thus exposed, entitled his case to a more careful consideration than it received, and he was left exposed to the full fury of the zamorin's revenge. Nor was it long before it overtook him. De Gama's departure was too favourable an opportunity to be lost, and hostile preparations on a most formidable scale were immediately commenced. In the vicinity of Ponany, about sixteen leagues north of Cochin, 50,000 men were assembled. Before commencing operations the zamorin asked nothing more than the surrender of the Portuguese who had fixed their residence in Cochin. The population The zamorin proposes to attack Cochin.

A.D. 1504. were urgent that the demand should be complied with, but the rajah stood firm, and, though his force was comparatively insignificant, advanced to the encounter. The contest, however, was too unequal; and he was driven from post to post, till he was at last obliged to abandon his capital, and seek an asylum in the island of Vaipi, or Vipeen, in its vicinity.

Arrival of
Alfonso Al-
buquerque.

While in this extremity he received no support from Vicente Sodre, who kept cruising about making captures, but on some shallow pretext or other refused to give any direct assistance. Powerful aid, however, was approaching. Nine ships had sailed from Lisbon, in three equal squadrons, under the



ALFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE.
From a print after Silva.

respective commands of Alonso or Alfonso Albuquerque, Francisco Albuquerque, and Antonio Saldanha. The last was to cruise in the mouth of the Red Sea; the others were to proceed directly to India. Francisco Albuquerque arrived first, and with a considerable addition to his squadron, in consequence of having fallen in with some of the ships belonging to Vicente Sodre. This powerful reinforcement completely changed the aspect of affairs, and the zamorin was defeated at every point. Triumphant, in the joy of his heart, not only conferred new privileges on the Portuguese, but gave them permission to build a fort.

The Albu-
querque
sail for
Europe.

On the arrival of Alfonso Albuquerque new energy was thrown into the Portuguese operations, and many successful expeditions were made both by land and sea. The effect of these was manifested in various ways. In the south Coulan, or Quilon, then under female government, made a voluntary offer to lade two ships, and consent to the establishment of a factory; while the zamorin, dispirited by a series of disastrous defeats, was compelled to sue for peace. It was granted, but on terms so disadvantageous, that he availed himself of the first pretext for a rupture, and was soon again at open war. For some reason not explained the two Albuquerques, at this very time, when their presence seemed more necessary than ever, set sail for Europe, leaving only Duarte Pacheco with the ship which he commanded, two caravels, and 110 men, for the defence of Cochin. Francisco Albuquerque appears to have perished in a storm, for he was never more heard of; Alfonso, reserved for greater things, arrived in safety, bringing with him for the king forty pounds of pearls, a diamond of remarkable size, and two horses, a Persian and an Arab, the first of the kind which were imported into Portugal.

The zamorin had become convinced that he would never be able single-

handed to overcome the Portuguese; and therefore, in again preparing to take the field, made it his first business to strengthen himself by entering into a coalition with neighbouring states. In this he found little difficulty, for the Portuguese were not only viewed with jealousy as strangers, but had pursued a very reckless course at sea, attacking and making prizes of all vessels of whatever country, whenever they found any pretext for stigmatizing them by the name of Moors. We have already met with instances of this kind candidly confessed, or rather complacently dwelt upon by themselves; and it can scarcely be doubted that the instances which they have not recorded were still more numerous. Be this as it may, the coalition soon assumed a very formidable appearance; and while a numerous fleet, provided with nearly 400 cannons, prepared to bombard Cochin from the sea, an army, estimated at 50,000, began to approach it by land.

A.D. 1565.

The zamorin forms a coalition.

Triumpara was dismayed, and apparently with good reason, for not only was the enemy in overwhelming force, but his subjects, under the influence of terror, began to desert. The only person whose courage remained unshaken was the Portuguese captain, Duarte Pacheco, who, when the rajah came to him in the greatest alarm, and spoke of surrender, scouted the idea, assuring him that a valiant defence would certainly prove successful. This was no empty boast. Pacheco made all his arrangements with so much skill, and carried them out with so much resolution, that the confederates were ultimately obliged to retire with a severe loss. Attempts were repeatedly made to renew the attack, but the result was always the same; and the zamorin with his allies had the mortification of seeing all their efforts baffled by a mere handful of Europeans. Seldom has there been a more striking example of what one daring spirit can accomplish than was furnished by Pacheco in this struggle. In the course of it the zamorin had lost 18,000 men, and was now so humbled as gladly to accept of terms of peace from his own tributary Rajah of Cochin. As we shall not again meet with Pacheco, we may here conclude his history. It is a melancholy one. A fleet of thirteen ships, of larger dimensions than had ever before been built in Portugal, having arrived under the command of Lope Soarez, Pacheco, though treated with merited distinction, was superseded, and invested with the government of El Mina, on the west coast of Africa. Here it was thought that his private fortune, to which he was too heroically disposed to give much attention, would be improved. This object was entirely defeated by a violent faction, which first thwarted his measures, and then had the audacity to seize his person on a false charge, and send him home in chains. After languishing for a time in prison he obtained an honourable acquittal, but it was too late. The ungrateful return for his distinguished services had broken his heart, and he died either in prison or shortly after he was released from it.

Heroism of Duarte Pacheco.

His fate.

Lope Soarez, soon after his arrival, moved up to Calicut, and was met by a messenger from the zamorin, who was now willing to comply with every

A D. 1507.

Honourable
conduct of
the za-
morin

demand made upon him except one. This was to deliver up an European, a native of Milan, who had entered his service, and taught him the art of casting cannon, along with other important naval and military improvements. To his honour the zamorin demurred to the delivery of an individual whose only offence was the ability and fidelity with which he had served him. Soarez, unable or unwilling to appreciate the honour and justice of the zamorin's refusal, immediately bombarded the town, and laid the greater part of it in ashes. This work of destruction accomplished, he immediately proceeded to another, and treated the town of Cranganore, which had adhered to the zamorin, in the same way. His next exploit began more ominously, but ended still more triumphantly. In sailing north from Cranganore to attack Ponany, he was met by the zamorin's fleet, and driven into a bay. Here he found himself in imminent peril; for in addition to the fleet before which he had been obliged to retire, seventeen large Moorish ships, well provided with cannon, and carrying 4000 men, were waiting to receive him. A fierce conflict ensued; but ultimately, with a very trifling loss to the Portuguese, all the ships of the enemy with their rich lading were destroyed. Soarez, thinking he had now done enough to justify his return, left four ships at the fort of Cochin, and set sail for Europe with the

He is de-
fested by
Lopo
Soarez.

LISBON.—From Bran et Hogenburg, 1574.

remainder. His arrival at Lisbon, on the 22d of July, 1506, was gladly welcomed, as no richer cargo in goods and prizes had ever returned from the East.

Don Fran-
cisco Al-
meida's
arrival
as viceroy.

The next Indian armament fitted out by Portugal was on a more magnificent scale than any which preceded it. It consisted of twenty-two ships, carrying, in addition to the crew, 1500 fighting men, and was placed under the command of Don Francisco Almeida, who bore for the first time the proud title of Viceroy of India. His arrival in India took place in 1507. The first land reached was the island of Anchediva, where, as it occupied a commanding position on the coast, and had become a common station for Portuguese vessels, he built a fort. On arriving at Cochin, where he intended to have rewarded Triumpara, the old and

faithful ally of the Portuguese, with a crown of gold, set with jewels, which he had brought from Portugal for the purpose, he was astonished to find that he had retired from the world, to spend the remainder of his days as a solitary devotee. His nephew was reigning in his stead, and received the crown from the hands of Almeida during a pompous ceremonial. It is probable that he did not understand all that was meant by it, for from that day he was to be regarded, not as an independent sovereign, but a vassal holding his crown during the pleasure of the Portuguese.

A.D. 1507.

Before Almeida arrived, the zamorin had once more placed all his fortunes on a venture; and, as if fully aware that the struggle in which he was about to engage would prove decisive of his fate, left no means unemployed to insure success. At this time a powerful dynasty was reigning in the Deccan over territories which included a considerable tract of sea-coast, from Goa northwards, while the kingdom of Gujerat or Cambaya had risen to be a great naval power. Both of these states had been wantonly attacked by the Portuguese, and their commerce had suffered severely before they were aware of having done anything to provoke hostility. Naturally exasperated, they entered with readiness into

Native combination against the Portuguese.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF ALEXANDRIA.—From Brun et Hogenburg, 1574.

a combination intended to banish the Portuguese for ever from the Eastern seas. Even with these auxiliaries the zamorin did not feel secure. He therefore extended his views much further, and entered into communication with the Sultan of Egypt.

The Mameluke sultan at once responded to the call thus made upon him, and the more readily that his attention had previously been drawn to the subject from another quarter. The success of the Portuguese in the East was already telling powerfully against the lucrative trade which the Venetians had long been accustomed to regard as their special monopoly. Goods brought into the Levant, either overland or by way of Alexandria, had so heavy a burden of

The Sultan of Egypt joins it.

A.D. 1507. transport and taxation to bear, that they could not possibly compete with the comparatively inexpensive process of a single voyage, however long, from the port of lading to the port of delivery. The Venetians thus found themselves undersold in every European market, and became perfectly aware that they must either destroy the Portuguese trade or be destroyed by it. Their first endeavour was to work upon the fears of the King of Portugal and the pope, by instigating the sultan to send a threatening letter to Lisbon and Rome, intimating that if the Portuguese did not forthwith relinquish the new course of navigation, by which they had penetrated into the Indian Ocean, and cease from encroaching on a commerce which had been carried on from time immemorial between Asia and his dominions, he would put to death all the Christians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, burn their churches, and demolish the holy sepulchre itself.

Intrigues of
the Venetians.

An Egyptian
fleet fitted
out.

This menace having failed to produce the effect anticipated, the Venetians did not scruple to urge the sultan to take the remedy into his own hands, and, in accordance with the invitation given by the zamorin, become a powerful auxiliary in the crusade against the Portuguese. There was only one difficulty. The Egyptian fleet in its actual state was overmatched by that of Portugal. If the war was undertaken, the first thing necessary would be to build a new fleet. Egypt had no proper timber for the purpose. How, then, was it to be obtained? The Venetians were not to be balked of their object by such an obstacle. Had they not whole forests of naval timber in Dalmatia? and having gone so far, why need they scruple to place them at the disposal of the sultan, who, after hewing down as much as he required, might easily transport it by a well known route to the Red Sea? Such was the plan actually adopted; and Europe saw the maritime power which had taken a prominent part in the crusade of Christian princes against Mahometans, as zealously engaged in promoting a Mahometan crusade against Christians.

Its arrival in
India.

By these extraordinary means a fleet of twelve ships of war having been built and fully equipped, set sail for the Indian coast in 1507. It carried 1500 men, and was commanded by an experienced officer, whom Ferishta calls Ameer Hoossein, and the Portuguese Meer Hashim. It sailed first to Gujerat, where Mullik Eiaz, admiral of Mahmood Shah I., who was then reigning sovereign of that kingdom, was prepared to join it with a squadron which would more than double its numbers and strength. Almeida seems not to have been aware of the danger which threatened him till he was almost overtaken by it. His tactics obviously should have been to attack the Turkish fleet on its passage. In this way it might not have been difficult for him to beat his enemies in detail. He may have been prevented by obstacles of which we are not aware; for after he had resolved to pursue this obvious course it was found to be too late. His son Lorenzo, whom he had despatched with eleven sail to intercept the sultan's fleet, having been detained, first off Cananore, where he

attacked and, with scarcely any loss, destroyed a native squadron far larger than his own, and afterwards at Anchediva, where sixty Moorish and native vessels had made an attempt on the fort, arrived in the harbour of Choul, or Chowul, about twenty-three miles south of Bombay, just in time to see the Egyptian admiral enter it. A fierce conflict immediately ensued, and was continued without any decided advantage till night separated the combatants. Next day an immense preponderance was given to Ameer Hoossein by the arrival of Mullik Eiaz with the Gujerat fleet. Lorenzo, still undismayed, immediately renewed the battle, but found the Egyptian admiral a much more formidable antagonist than he had been accustomed to deal with. After another day's fighting had left the victory undecided, the Portuguese ships were so much shattered that it was determined by a council of war to take advantage of the night and effect a retreat.

A. D. 1507

A naval battle.

Lorenzo, who had previously incurred his father's displeasure, by declining on one occasion to force the fleet of the zamorin to action, was very reluctant to take a step which would justly be considered as an acknowledgment of defeat, and continued to linger on till the day began to dawn. He had by this time consented to retreat, and several of his vessels had set sail. Unfortunately when he began to follow, his ship grounded, and after some ineffectual efforts to tow it off, the rest of the squadron continued their flight, and left him to his fate. He might have escaped in his boat, but at once made up his mind to sell his life as dearly as possible, and die at his post. The enemy at first attempted to board, but was so bravely resisted, that he adopted the more cautious method of keeping at a distance and pouring in his shot. Lorenzo, having been struck by a ball, which broke his thigh, ordered himself to be placed against the mainmast, and there remained, encouraging his men, till another ball broke his back and killed him. The ship shortly after sunk. Of its crew of 100 men only nineteen escaped. According to Faria y Sousa, the whole loss of the Portuguese amounted only to eighty-one men, while the enemy lost 600. The Mahometan account given by Ferishta is very different. After mentioning that the Portuguese flag-ship, valued at a crore of rupees (a million sterling), was sunk, and every man on board perished, he adds, that the Mahometan fleet returned victoriously; for although 400 Turks were honoured with the crown of martyrdom, no fewer than 3000 or 4000 Portuguese infidels were at the same time sent to the infernal regions.

Heroism of Almeida's son, Lorenzo.

His death.

CHAPTER VIII.

Portuguese progress in the East.—The viceroyships of Francisco Almeida and Alfonso Albuquerque.



THE Portuguese were now fully committed to their career of conquest, and successive armaments, on a grand scale, quitted Lisbon for the East. One of these, under Tristan da Cunha, consisted of thirteen vessels, and 1300 fighting men. Another, of twelve vessels, sailed under the command of Alfonso Albu-

On
A D. 1508

Alfonso Al-
buquerque
returns to
India.

querque, who, after performing several exploits on the African coast, and taking effectual measures to cripple the trade from India by the Red Sea, continued along the coast of Arabia, and entered the Persian Gulf, determined to strike a still more fatal blow. There the Mahometan traffic with India was still active. Albuquerque, in whom great military and political talents were combined, at once perceived how an effectual interdict might be laid upon it. The only thing necessary for this purpose was to make himself master of the city of Ormuz, situated on an island in the mouth of the gulf. In this way he could



ORMUZ.—Brun et Hogenburg, 1574.

completely command the passage, and place the trade at his mercy. After the capture of Muscat, and several other places of minor importance, he proceeded to the execution of his grand enterprise. His design had been penetrated; and instead of being able to take the city by surprise, as he had anticipated, he

His expedi-
tion to the
Persian
Gulf.

found it defended by a fleet of 400 vessels, sixty of them of large size, and by an army of 30,000 men. To show how far he was from being dismayed at these preparations, he immediately advanced into the harbour, and anchored among five of the largest ships, firing his cannon as if in defiance. After waiting for a message from the king, but receiving none, he sent him his ultimatum, which, considering the relative position of the parties, was certainly of a very extraordinary and arrogant description. It was to the effect that he had come with orders to take the King of Ormuz under his protection,

on the condition of paying a reasonable tribute to Portugal, or to treat him as an enemy by declaring war against him.

CR.
A.D. 1509.

There was little room to doubt which of the alternatives, thus arbitrarily placed before him, the sovereign of Ormuz would accept, but as his fortifications were not yet completed, it was important to gain time; and solely with that view, instead of sending a resolute defiance, he entered into negotiation. Albuquerque saw what was intended, and at once brought matters to a point, by telling the messenger that when he next came, it must be with either an acceptance of peace, or a declaration of war. There had never been any room for choice, and the message accordingly was, that Ormuz was in use not to pay, but to receive tribute. Albuquerque lost not a moment in commencing a cannonade which must have caused fearful slaughter, as not only were the walls, shore, and vessels crowded with combatants, but even the tops of the houses were covered with spectators. The Persians, in the meantime, were not idle, and made two furious onsets; but neither in weapons nor discipline could they cope with the Portuguese, and the sea is said to have been coloured with their blood. With the loss of only ten men, Albuquerque burned, sunk, or otherwise destroyed all the ships of Ormuz, and received a flag of truce with an offer to comply with all his demands. The terms were, the annual payment of about £2000 as tribute to the King of Portugal, and ground on which to build a fort. No sooner were the terms arranged, than the fort was immediately commenced, and carried on with such rapidity, as to assume shape in the course of a few days.

Albuquerque attacks Ormuz.

Submission of the Persians.

Khojah Attar, who governed Ormuz in the name of Saifaddin, who was a minor, had no sooner made the arrangement than he repented of it. From the destruction which Albuquerque had caused, he had formed an extravagant idea of the force under his command; and was astonished above measure, on learning that it did not muster above 460 men. He therefore prepared anew for hostilities, and dexterously availed himself of a mutinous feeling among the inferior Portuguese commanders, to escape the consequences. Albuquerque, after venting his rage by some very barbarous proceedings, was obliged to depart and spend the winter at Socotra, which had become a Portuguese conquest. Having again returned, he gave formal notice of his arrival to the government of Ormuz, and was immediately informed that the tribute stipulated would be paid, but that he would not be permitted to build the fort. He would fain have resumed the siege, but more important interests required his presence in India. He had been appointed viceroy.

Almeida, in the midst of his preparations to avenge the death of his son, received the mortifying intelligence that he had been superseded in his government. Obedience to the royal mandate was, of course, his duty; but both revenge and ambition pointed to an opposite course, and he determined to follow it at all hazards. On the pretext that the public interest would not allow him,

Almeida sets out to avenge his son.

Cra.
A.D. 1509.

Almeida
destroys
Dabul.

in present circumstances, to demit his authority, he refused to resign the insignia of office; and leaving Albuquerque, who was in no condition to force him, to devour his disappointment as he could, set out without him at the head of a powerful armament. While proceeding northwards along the coast, in search of the combined Egyptian and Gujerat fleets, he stopped at Anchediva, and there received information which determined him to make the important commercial city of Dabul, situated on the coast about half-way between Goa and Bombay, the first object of attack. It belonged to a king of the Deccan, who had joined the zamorin's confederation, and assisted him with ships. In Almeida's view this was sufficient to justify any severity; and, without any note of warning, he suddenly commenced his attack both by sea and land, and never desisted till he had laid Dabul in ashes. An immense plunder might have been obtained; but fearing the effect upon his troops, he chose rather to burn than to preserve the booty.

He defeats
the Turkish
and Gujerat
fleets.

From this achievement, which certainly added little to his laurels, Almeida proceeded to Diu, finely and strongly situated on an island of the same name, on the southern shore of the peninsula of Gujerat. Here he found Ameer Hoossein and Mullik Eiaz, with their fleets. Had they remained in their position under the batteries of Diu, as the Gujerat admiral strongly urged, Almeida, if he had ventured an attack at all, must have made it under great disadvantage; but the Egyptian admiral, who was naturally of a chivalrous temper, and perhaps also rendered over-confident by his recent success, when Lorenzo was slain, disdained to be cooped up in a harbour, when he could meet his enemy in the open sea, and sailed out, displaying more valour than discretion. The conflict, after raging furiously for some time, terminated in a glorious victory gained by the Portuguese, who, however, converted it into an indelible disgrace, by an atrocious massacre. Several days after the battle was fought, and they had sailed away for Cananore, they murdered all their prisoners in cold blood. There is no possible excuse for the atrocity; and the only explanation given is, that Almeida's revenge could not otherwise be satiated. The defeat had so dispirited Mullik Eiaz that he made overtures of peace. They were readily listened to; and he might have obtained advantageous terms, if he would have stooped to the meanness of delivering up his Egyptian colleague. As much to his honour as to the disgrace of the Portuguese for making such a demand, he at once gave it a peremptory refusal.

He retains
the viceroy-
ship.

Almeida, having returned to Cochín, was again pressed by Albuquerque to resign the viceroyship, which he had persisted in holding, in defiance of the mandate of his sovereign. So far from complying, he took the extraordinary step of seizing the person of his competitor, and sending him as a prisoner to the fort of Cananore. He would probably have completed the treasonable course to which he was now committed, by declaring himself independent, had not the opportune arrival of Don Fernando Coutinho, with a large fleet and

extraordinary powers, enabled him to act with effect as a mediator. The result was, that Almeida abandoned all idea of resistance, and, resigning the insignia of office, took his departure for Europe. Before leaving, a native conjuror had told him that he was not destined to pass the Cape of Good Hope. He had passed it, however, and had begun to make merry with the prediction, when an event took place which terminated his career somewhat ignobly. The three ships he had with him anchored in Saldanha Bay, a little north of the Cape, and sent ashore a watering-party. One of the ex-viceroy's servants insulted one of the natives, and was roughly handled by them in return. Almeida, contrary to his wish and better judgment, was induced to take part in this petty squabble, and having gone ashore, was returning with the cattle carried off in a foray, when the natives, who had been lying in ambuscade, rushed out upon him. They were armed only with pointed stakes, but these they used so effectually, that fifty of the Portuguese soon lay dead at their feet. Among them was the ex-viceroy himself, mortally wounded by a thrust which pierced his throat.

A D. 1510.

Death of
Almeida.

Albuquerque, now fully installed as viceroy, was bent on following out his career of conquest, and sailed for Calicut, before which he appeared on the 2d of January, 1510, with thirty vessels and 1800 men, together with a number of natives who followed in boats, allured by the hope of plunder. Coutinho had arrived from Europe with an earnest longing for Eastern renown; and now that the opportunity offered, he had set his heart on signalizing himself as the captor of the royal palace. Albuquerque indulged him by giving him the command of 800 men, after administering all the cautions which his superior talents and experience suggested. Unfortunately Coutinho thought only of his prize, and rushed forward as if he had been running a race rather than fighting a battle. Never looking behind him, he forced his way to the palace, and set about installing himself in it, for the purpose of celebrating his triumph. His infatuation was soon perceived by the native troops, who took advantage of it so silently and effectually, that Coutinho did not awake to a sense of his peril, till he found himself hemmed in by thousands of natives, and deprived of every outlet. Albuquerque, in exerting himself for his relief, was so severely wounded in the head by a stone, and in the throat by a dart, that he was borne senseless to the shore. Coutinho, and several young nobles from Lisbon, fell in the palace fighting desperately; and the whole detachment would have perished to a man, had not a large body of reserve arrived and obliged the enemy to retire. Notwithstanding this disastrous retreat, the inhabitants suffered much more severely than the Portuguese, and saw the greater part of their city laid in ruins.

Albuquerque's
attack
on Calicut.His narrow
escape.

Ormuz was the next place to which Albuquerque turned his attention. He had there been baffled by the supineness or treachery of his officers, particularly Lope de Soarez and Juan de Nueva, and obliged, in consequence, to leave one of the main avenues of Mahometan trade still open. He accordingly began to

A. D. 1510.

Albuquerque
prepares to
attack Goa.

make such preparations for a new attack upon it as must have proved successful, when his attention was attracted to another quarter, and he resolved to employ his armament against Goa. This town which, from having afterwards become the seat of Portuguese government in the East, makes some figure in history, was finely situated on an island at the mouth of an estuary, forming one of the very few good harbours which occur on the western coast of the Indian peninsula. At this time (1510) it was included in the territories of one of the kings of the Deccan, who had his capital at Bejapoor, and is usually called by Portuguese writers Sabay or Savay, though his proper name or title was Yusuf Adil Shah. He had recently wrested it from the Rajah of Onore. The grounds of Albuquerque's quarrel with Yusuf are not very apparent; and it is probable that he did not deem it necessary either to allege or invent any. His only object was to extend the Portuguese rule; and if he could succeed, he regarded it as scarcely worth while to inquire whether the means which he employed could be justified. One inducement may have been, that, as a new conquest, Yusuf's possession of Goa must have been somewhat insecure. Another inducement was, that the Rajah of Onore, the legitimate owner, was ready to assist to the utmost in recapturing it. He found a third auxiliary capable of rendering still more effectual assistance in Timoja, who figures sometimes as Rajah of Canara, a district which was bounded by Goa on the north, and sometimes simply as a privateer, roaming the seas with a powerful fleet, and living by plunder.

Capture
of Goa.

Thus assisted, Albuquerque made his appearance off the coast in the beginning of 1510. At first anticipating a valiant resistance, he sent his nephew along with Timoja to take soundings. They discovered a fort which was well provided with guns, and defended by 400 men, and not only had the hardihood to attack, but the good fortune to capture it. This seemed a most auspicious commencement, and proved only the first of a series of fortunate events which followed rapidly, and put Albuquerque in possession of this most important locality, before he was required to strike a blow. According to the Portuguese accounts, some conjuror or fakir, whose predictions were implicitly believed, had announced that Goa was destined shortly to become subject to foreigners. On the faith of this prediction, the inhabitants thought it a stroke of good policy, instead of enduring the miseries of a siege which must ultimately be successful, to make a voluntary surrender. Accordingly, to the great but most agreeable surprise of Albuquerque, he was received ashore by the population as if he had been their native prince, conducted in state to the gate, when he received the keys, and thereafter put in possession of the palace. The Mahometan account says nothing of the conjuror; and with far greater probability represents the capture as the necessary result of a surprise. The fort captured by Timoja and Albuquerque's nephew may have given them complete command of the city, and thus rendered defence impossible.

Reception
of Albu-
querque.

At this time, however, it was lost almost as easily as it had been gained. Yusuf Adil Shah having died, was succeeded by his son Ismael Adil Shah, who, about four months after the hasty surrender of Goa, collected an army estimated at 60,000. Kumal Khan, the general to whom this army was intrusted, suddenly made his appearance, and conducted the siege with so much ability, that Albuquerque, after twenty days, finding his communication with the fleet seriously threatened, was glad to evacuate the place. But he had no idea of finally abandoning so valuable a prize. In the course of the same year, having collected all his forces, including several additional ships which had arrived from Portugal, he set sail from Cananore with a fleet of twenty-three ships, and 1500 fighting men. After landing at Onore, to assist at the celebration of Timoja's marriage with the daughter of a native queen, he hastened off to Goa, and, anchoring before it a second time, immediately prepared for the assault. It took place before daybreak, and with such success, that the Portuguese entered the city along with those of the defenders who had been stationed outside. For a time every inch of ground within the city was disputed, and more especially at the palace the fight was furiously renewed, till the defenders, fearing that their retreat to the mainland might be cut off, quitted the place in the utmost confusion. The enemy lost 6000; the Portuguese only fifty. Not one Moor was left alive; but the natives were treated with great moderation. Besides recovering their property, they had the satisfaction of being placed under the government of their countryman Timoja, who ruled more equitably than might have been anticipated from his predatory habits. Before departing, Albuquerque declared his intention to make Goa the capital of Portuguese India.

A D. 1511.
Goa taken
and re-
taken.

The remaining exploits of Albuquerque, though they had not India for their theatre, are so intimately connected with its history, that a short account of them is here subjoined. After returning to Cochin he began to prepare another armament, and gave out that it was destined to act against Aden, which was then, as it is now, the key to the navigation of the Red Sea. The importance of the object was sufficient to justify all the preparations which he was making; but while pretending to look to the west, his eye was fixed in an opposite direction. The city of Malacca, situated on the peninsula of the same name, had long been the most important emporium of the rich countries lying further east than India. The Moors were still carrying on a lucrative traffic in that quarter; and by means of it were almost able to compensate themselves for all the losses which they had sustained from the Portuguese. This consideration was of itself sufficient to determine Albuquerque to undertake the important expedition which he was now meditating, though the direct benefits which his own country might expect to derive from it were of themselves a sufficient inducement.

Albuquerque's expedition against Malacca.

On the 2d of May, 1511, Albuquerque set sail from Cochin with nineteen ships and 1400 fighting men. Of these, however, 600 were natives of India. Malacca was at this time under the government of a king of the name of

Capture of
Malacca.

A D. 1513. **Mahomed**, who had treacherously imprisoned a number of Portuguese, commanded by an officer called **Diego Lopez de Siqueira**. To avenge this outrage was the ostensible object of **Albuquerque's** expedition. It was one of the boldest he had ever undertaken, as the city itself is said to have contained 100,000 inhabitants, and was now defended by 30,000 soldiers, and 8000 cannon. With all these means of defence, **Mahomed**, aware of the kind of enemy he had to deal with, did not feel secure, and sent a messenger to the viceroy to intimate that, if he came for merchandise, it was ready at his command. **Albuquerque** replied that the merchandise he required was some Portuguese left there by **Siqueira**, and that on the delivery of them he would be prepared to say what more he wanted. After some parleying, the captives were delivered, and **Albuquerque** sent his ultimatum. It demanded compensation for the outrage, and for the expenses incurred in obtaining redress, and a site for the erection of a Portuguese fort. This last proposal the king refused to entertain, and **Albuquerque** immediately prepared to compel him. The Malays are said to have fought well, but it is difficult to believe it; for with all the aid which they could derive from artillery, poisoned arrows, poisoned thorns, and mines of gunpowder laid in the streets, their tens of thousands gave way before a mere handful of Portuguese, and the viceroy took triumphant possession of the city. While here he both received and sent several embassies; among the latter, one to Siam, and another to Pegu. He also sent out several navigators on exploring expeditions. One of these is said to have been commanded by **Magalhaens**, to whom it suggested the idea of his subsequent celebrated circumnavigation.

Albuquerque's
heroism and
humanity.

On the voyage home, **Albuquerque** lost his finest ship, which was nearly cut across the keel on a sharp rock off the coast of Sumatra. In this perilous position he was obliged to pass the night; and when the morning dawned, was seen performing an act of humanity and heroism, by sheltering with his arms a young girl whom he had saved in the midst of the confusion. When he arrived in India, he found that advantage had been taken of his absence. **Adel Khan** had resumed the siege of Goa with an army of 20,000 men, and the zamorin was again in arms. Goa was easily relieved; and the zamorin, despairing of success, retired from the contest. The subversion of the Mameluke dynasty in Egypt had deprived him of any further assistance from **Ameer Hoossein**, and on looking round he saw no quarter to which he could appeal for new aid. According to **Ferishta**, this humbling conviction so completely overwhelmed him, that his health gave way, and he died of a broken heart.

His expedition
against
Aden.

The attack on **Aden**, which **Albuquerque** meditated, had been postponed to that of Malacca, but by no means abandoned. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, 1513, he appeared before it with a fleet of twenty sail, having on board 1700 Portuguese, and 800 natives of India. He lost no time in landing, and hastened forward, in the hope that, by applying scaling-ladders to the walls, he might gain possession of the place. He had underrated its strength, and the

valour of its defenders, and was obliged to retire with a loss too severe to leave him any inclination to renew the attempt. He compensated himself in some degree by entering the Red Sea, which then, for the first time, saw an European vessel on its bosom, and made

A.D. 1514

several valuable prizes. After remaining for some time at the island of Kamaran, he returned and again looked in upon Aden, but found that in the interval its fortifications had been so much improved that it would have been madness to attack it. He therefore passed on, and continued his voyage to



ADEN.—Braun et Hogenburg, 1574.

India. On reaching Gujerat he made an ineffectual application for permission to build a fort at Diu, but did not attempt to enforce it, as he was intent on another project, on which his heart had long been set, and all the more earnestly that his attempts to accomplish it had hitherto been frustrated. This project was the command of the Persian Gulf by the capture of Ormuz. His third attempt upon it was made in March, 1514. The circumstances were opportune; and when he demanded permission to complete the fort, the governor, though disposed to resist, felt he had not the means, and was obliged to comply. The name of Albuquerque was now famous all over the East; and even Ismael, the founder of the famous Persian dynasty of Sophi, sent him an ambassador with valuable presents, and concluded a treaty with him. Before leaving Ormuz, Albuquerque not only finished his fort, but succeeded in inducing or forcing the king to lodge all his cannon within it. In this way Portuguese supremacy was completely established.

Capture of Ormuz.

Under Albuquerque the Portuguese power extended more widely, and was more firmly seated, than before or since. It cannot, however, be with any propriety styled an empire, as it was not composed of contiguous territories, but rather consisted of a vast number of isolated forts, scattered over an immense extent of coast, and situated at wide distances from each other. The sites were for the most part admirably chosen, and gave a complete control over all the great maritime thoroughfares from the East Indies to Europe. In some respects this mode of rule has its advantages over territorial possession. It is more easily acquired, and admits of being maintained at a cheaper rate; but its stability is very precarious. The moment the command at sea is lost, it is necessarily extinguished. This, however, was an event of which, during Albuquerque's regency, there were no symptoms; and the fact that they began to be manifested not long after he disappeared from the scene, serves to impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom and vigour of his government. When his countrymen hailed him as "Great," all impartial observers of his exploits were

Portuguese power in the East.

A.D. 1515. ready to echo their acclamations. His greatness, however, was now drawing to a close.

Albuquerque's illness,

While at Ormuz he had suffered much from sickness, and the symptoms had become sufficiently serious to make him hasten his departure. There was no reason, however, to suspect a fatal termination. He had only passed his sixtieth year, and seemed unbroken in constitution. In truth, it was not disease but grief that killed him. It is said that he had applied to his sovereign for the title of Duke of Goa. His enemies took advantage of the circumstance to insinuate that he was cherishing schemes of ambition, and had manifested, by the arrogance of his application, the treasonable purpose which he had at heart. Once Duke of Goa, he would establish himself in that Eastern metropolis, and rule the whole East as absolute master. There was little plausibility in these insinuations; but there was enough to form the groundwork of a successful court intrigue. Albuquerque, while oppressed by sickness, was yet dreaming of a ducal title, when he received the mortifying intelligence that the only reward which he was to obtain for all his services was a summary dismissal. He was no longer viceroy; and as if this was not enough, he had been superseded to make way for his mortal enemy, Lope Soarez. The shock was more than he could bear; and when the vessel in which he sailed arrived off Goa, he was in a dying state. On the first news of his dismissal, he is said to have exclaimed, "See how it is! Love to my fellow-men has brought me into bad odour with the king, and love to the king into bad odour with my fellow-men. To the grave, then, old man, for it is now high time: to the grave!" One of his last acts was to write a touching letter to King Emanuel, in which, recommending his son to his protection, he says: "I bequeath to him my property, which is of small amount; but I also leave him the obligation which my services impose, and this is great. In regard to the affairs of India, they will speak for him and for me." It was thought he might be able to reach Goa, but death advanced with such rapid strides, that he breathed his last almost immediately after the vessel had crossed the bar, on the 16th of December, 1515. He was buried with great pomp at Goa; but in accordance with a request in his will, his remains, in 1566, were transported to Lisbon.

His death

Lope Soarez succeeds.

After the death of Albuquerque, the Portuguese power began visibly to decline. "Up to this time," says Faria y Sousa, "the gentlemen had followed the dictates of true honour, esteeming their arms the greatest riches; from this time forward, they so wholly gave themselves up to trading, that those who ought to have been captains became merchants." There was, in short, a general and eager scramble for riches, from the highest to the lowest class of officials; and public was held subordinate and made subservient to private interest. The very first proceedings of Soarez gave evidence of his incapacity. He had brought with him a fleet of thirteen sail, and, having increased it by reinforcements to twenty-seven sail, proceeded, in accordance with the orders which he

had received at Lisbon, on an expedition to the Red Sea, with the view of encountering a large fleet which the Sultan of Egypt was said to be fitting out at Suez. On arriving off Aden, he found a large breach in the fortifications, in consequence of a siege which it had lately sustained; and so conscious was the governor of its defenceless condition, that he actually made Soarez an offer of the keys. The compliments with which they were offered were so soothing to his vanity, that he returned the keys thus tendered, and desired the governor to keep them for him till his return, as he was at present on an expedition which admitted of no delay. He accordingly entered the Red Sea, and, after cruising about to no purpose, retraced his steps to Aden, and was very much astonished when, on announcing his arrival to the complimentary governor, he received, instead of the keys, a proud defiance to come and take them. The explanation was soon given. The walls, which were defenceless on his former visit, had, in the interval, been thoroughly repaired. A bold stroke might yet have put him in possession of the place, but Soarez was not the man to make it; and he moved off to attempt some petty capture. Even this was not permitted him, for nearly a third of his fleet was destroyed in a storm, and he hastened back to Goa with the remainder.

A.D. 1521.

Ineffectual attempt upon Aden.

The native princes, who had been overawed by Albuquerque, were not slow to discover the character of his successor, and take advantage of it. Both Goa and Malacca were seriously threatened, though as much of ancient discipline still remained to ward off the danger. The only occurrences to compensate for these disasters were the submission of the King of Ceylon, who, in 1517, agreed to become tributary to Portugal, and allow a fort to be built at Colombo; and the successful voyage of Fernando Perez de Andrada, who, in the same year, penetrated to Canton, and laid the foundation of a lucrative trade.

Portuguese build a fort at Colombo

Diego Lopez de Sequeira, who succeeded Soarez, was a man of a similar temper, and instead of doing anything to retrieve the honour of the Portuguese arms, tarnished them still further by a dastardly retreat from Diu, after appearing before it with one of the largest armaments which had ever sailed under Portuguese colours in the Indian Ocean. He had in all forty ships, manned by 3000 Portuguese, and 800 natives. On his arrival, on the 9th of February, 1521, he sent a messenger to Mullik Eiaz, with the old request for permission to build a fort, and a menace, that if it were refused, he would force it. The Gujerat admiral told him to do his worst; and must have been as much pleased as surprised when, instead of being attacked in the style of which Almeida and Albuquerque had given examples, he saw the Portuguese fleet weigh anchor, and gradually disappear from the coast. The fortifications, it seems, had been strengthened; and Lopez, after endeavouring to shelter himself by calling a council of war, which sanctioned his cowardice, decided that the attack was too hazardous to be attempted.

Diego Lopez retreats from Diu.

This disgraceful retreat was not lost upon the native princes, and in the

A.D. 1531. course of the same year the Portuguese saw several formidable combinations formed against them. Mullik Eiaz deemed it unnecessary any longer to seek the protection of his batteries at Diu, and, sailing out, converted the Portuguese retreat into a flight, taking one of their ships and dispersing the rest. Not satisfied with this success, he continued his course to Choul, where the Portuguese were engaged in building a factory, again defeated them, and remained off the port for twenty days, cutting off all communication between the factory and the Portuguese fleet, which kept hovering outside, without offering battle, or attempting to force a passage. In proportion as Portuguese pusillanimity increased, their assailants became emboldened, and Adel Khan, in 1522, made his appearance once more in the vicinity of Goa. The city was too well fortified to run much risk, but all the adjoining territory was occupied, and once more acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Bejapoor.

Native combinations against the Portuguese.

Naval fight off Choul.

In 1527 the hopes of the Portuguese were much revived by a decisive victory gained at Choul over the Gujerat fleet, which consisted of eighty-three vessels. Of these, seventy-three were burned, destroyed, or driven ashore. Hector de Silveira, the victor, following his advantage, proceeded up to the head of the bay, where Bombay now stands, to Tannah, and then northwards to Bassein, levying contributions from both places, and compelling both to become tributary. Three years after, his brother, Antonio de Silveira, with a fleet of fifty-one vessels, crossed the bar of the river Taptee, and, forcing his way up to Surat, sacked and burned it. In the following year Daman, a large town situated on the same coast, shared the same fate.

Expedition against Diu.

These, however, were only desultory attacks, preparatory to a great effort about to be made for the capture of Diu. The King of Portugal, irritated at having been so often baffled in his attempts to take it, sent out peremptory orders to obtain possession of it on any terms! The preparations were on a scale far exceeding in magnitude anything that the Portuguese had ever before attempted. The expedition had its rendezvous in Bombay harbour, where it mustered 400 vessels of all descriptions, having on board 22,200 men. Of these, 3600 soldiers and 1400 sailors were Europeans. On the 16th February, 1531, the expedition, commanded by Nunno de Cunha, governor of India, arrived off Diu. Nine days before, it had attacked the town and island of Bet, or Beyt, which lies not far from the south side of the entrance to the Gulf of Cutch, and was strongly fortified both by nature and art. It was taken with a loss of 18,000 men and sixty cannon to the enemy, and with the loss of only twelve men to the Portuguese. The victory, however, great as it seemed, was in fact a disaster. Among the twelve slain was Hector de Silveira, the hero of the fleet; while the time lost was so diligently improved by the enemy, that Diu was rendered all but impregnable. The defence was conducted by Mustapha Khan, an European Turk, with so much courage and ability, that all the efforts of the besiegers proved fruitless, and they found it necessary, at the end of a month,

Its failure.

to retire. According to the Portuguese accounts, the strength of the place was the sole cause of failure; but the Mahometan historians add that the immediate cause of raising the siege was the approach of Bahadur Shah, then ruler of Gujerat, at the head of a formidable army. This so frightened the Portuguese, that they made a precipitate retreat, leaving their guns behind them. One of these is said to have been "the largest ever before seen in India, and required a machine to be constructed for conveying it to Champanere." The Portuguese, to avenge themselves for their defeat, burned a great number of towns upon the coast and committed fearful devastation. A. D. 1554.

Notwithstanding their discomfiture, the Portuguese had not abandoned the hope of being yet able to make themselves masters of Diu. If direct force failed, policy might yet succeed. Chand Khan, a brother of Bahadur, was at first set up as a competitor for the throne, and when this failed, a league was formed with Hoomayoon, King of Delhi, who, regarding Bahadur as a revolted vassal, had invaded Gujerat. Bahadur, thus pressed on all sides, was obliged to make his choice between submission to the King of Delhi, and submission to the Portuguese. He preferred the latter; and accordingly, in 1534, concluded a treaty by which he ceded Bassein, which was thenceforth to be the only port at which vessels sailing from India were to pay duties and take out clearances. He further engaged not to assist the Turkish fleets in the Indian seas. Bahadur,
King of
Gujerat.

This treaty gave him only a very partial relief. It made the Portuguese his friends, but made him more obnoxious than ever to the King of Delhi, who, following up the advantages which he had gained, obliged him to take refuge in Diu. Here, as the assistance of the Portuguese was indispensable to him, he was obliged to purchase it by giving them permission to build a fortified factory. As the work proceeded Bahadur became more and more uneasy, and besides entering into communication with the Turks, is said to have formed a plot for the destruction of his Portuguese allies. The statements on the subject by the Portuguese and the Mahometans vary so much, that it is difficult to pronounce between them. The probability is, that both parties were anxious to be quit of each other, and that thus there were plots and counter-plots. All that can now be considered certain is, that a fray commenced, and that Bahadur, who was on a visit to the Portuguese admiral, having fallen or leaped into the sea, a Portuguese sailor threw a boarding-pike at him, which pierced his skull, and killed him on the spot. Were the question to be decided on the principle of *cui bono*, the decision would necessarily be given against the Portuguese; for while Bahadur lost his life, they gained the island of Diu. His alliance
with the
Portuguese.

His death.

They had not been long in possession when an attempt was made to wrest it from them. It has been mentioned that when Bahadur repented of his concession to the Portuguese, he applied for aid to the Turks. Solymán the Magnificent was then upon the throne of Constantinople. The application therefore could not have been made under more favourable circumstances.

A D. 1537. Solyman was a great and a successful warrior, and his imagination fired at the idea of establishing an additional empire in the East. Before any steps were taken, the news of Bahadur's death arrived, but this only confirmed the determination to fit out an armament on such a scale as would insure the conquest of Diu. For this purpose instructions were given to Solyman, the Egyptian

Turkish expedition to Gujerat.



GENERAL VIEW OF DIU—Brun et Hogenburg, 1574.

pacha, to commence preparations immediately in the port of Suez. There a fleet of seventy-six galleys, having 7000 Turkish soldiers on board, was forthwith equipped; and, sailing under the command of the pacha, arrived off Diu in the beginning of September, 1537.

Portuguese besieged in Diu.

Though the danger had been foreseen, the Portuguese councils were at this time so dilatory and distracted, that no adequate preparations were made to meet it. The government of India had just been conferred on Garcia de Noronha, and the time which ought to have been devoted to the supply of Diu with everything necessary to its defence was spent in petty squabbles between the old governor and the new. The consequence was, that when the Turkish fleet arrived, the garrison consisted only of about 600 men, many of them sickly. Nor was this the worst. Both ammunition and provisions were so deficient, that nothing could save the place from capture if the siege was persisted in or relief did not arrive. Nor was the Turkish the only armament which the Portuguese had to fear. A Gujerat army, estimated at 20,000 men, was in the vicinity, ready to co-operate with the besiegers.

Heroic defence.

Such was the apparently desperate state of matters when the governor, Antonio de Silveira, unable to maintain a footing in the town, shut himself up in the fort. In himself, however, he was equal to a host, possessing not only military talents of the highest order, but also the rare gift of infusing his own heroic spirit into all who were under his command. Not only was every soldier within the garrison prepared to do his duty, but the women, forgetting the feebleness of their sex, fearlessly encountered every danger, and worked with their own hands in repairing the walls as they crumbled beneath the powerful

Turkish artillery. It is told of one lady, Anna Fernandez, wife of a physician, that by night she viewed all the posts, and during the assaults stood by encouraging the soldiers. She even saw her own son struck down by a cannon-ball, but, instead of giving way to the agony she must have felt, drew his body aside, returned to her post, and only after the assault had been repulsed went to bury him.

A.D. 1545.

It was impossible, however, that the defence could last much longer. Every new assault thinned the numbers of the garrison, and scarcely as many remained as could make even a show of resistance, when a breach was made. The governor saw nothing before him but death or surrender, and was giving way to the gloomiest forebodings, when, to his unspeakable delight, the siege was raised. The Turkish commander, when dispirited by the failure of one of his greatest efforts, received the startling intelligence that a powerful Portuguese fleet was at hand; and, without staying to ascertain its accuracy, made off with the utmost precipitation. It turned out to be a false rumour, invented and circulated, strange to say, by Khojah Zofar, a renegade Turk, of Italian origin, who commanded the Gujerat forces. His pride had been repeatedly offended by the arrogance of Solyman Pacha; and he had, moreover, ascertained that the Turks were determined, if they gained the place, to retain it as a permanent possession. There was thus only a choice of masters; and as the Portuguese seemed the more tolerable of the two, Zofar had given them the preference.

The siege of Diu raised.

After Khojah Zofar had rid himself of his Turkish allies by this stratagem, he entered into friendly communications with the Portuguese, but at the same time took several steps which convinced them that enmity was rankling at his heart. He was in the highest possible favour with the King of Gujerat; and feeling satisfied that that sovereign's complete ascendancy in the peninsula would best secure his own aggrandizement, was prepared to adopt any means, however unscrupulous, that promised to expel the Portuguese. His first attempt was an infamous plot, in which he endeavoured to poison the water of an immense cistern which supplied the garrison, and to set fire to the magazine. When this plot failed, he attempted to build a wall which would have completely isolated the fort from the town. The Portuguese objected; and the foundation for a quarrel being thus laid, he had no sooner completed his preparations, in 1545, than he made an open declaration of war.

Attempt to poison the garrison.

Mascarenhas, the commander of Diu, made the best arrangements possible in the circumstances; but his means being inadequate, he lost no time in acquainting Juan de Castro of his danger. Zofar, at the same time, aware of his advantage, resolved to assault the place before succour could arrive. With this view he prepared an immense floating battery, and, filling it with heavy artillery, caused it to be steered opposite to the sea-bastion, in the hope of making such a breach in it as would give him access into the fort. It proved a very clumsy device, for before he could bring it to bear the garrison made a night

Renewal of the siege

A D. 1545.

Zofar's
efforts to
take Diu.

attack upon it, and, setting fire to it, blew it into the air. Zofar's next plan was to complete the wall already mentioned, and to mount it with cannon, which kept up an incessant and crushing fire on the fort. One of the pieces of ordnance was of extraordinary size, and being managed by an expert French renegade, did considerable damage. Every shot from it is said to have shook the island, and made pieces of the fort to fly. Happily for the besieged, one of their shot killed the Frenchman, and the gunner who succeeded him managed so awkwardly that his great gun did more harm to his own party than to the Portuguese. While the siege was thus proceeding, the King of Gujerat arrived. It seems that Zofar had become so confident of success, that he had invited him to come and witness it. It proved hotter work than he had anticipated; and the pusillanimous prince was so terrified by a chance ball which lighted on his tent and killed one of his attendants, that he fled, and never looked behind him till he was far on the way back to his capital. A still more fortunate shot killed

He is killed

Zofar himself. This gave the exhausted garrison some respite; but it was of short duration, for Rouni Khan, Zofar's son, succeeded him, and, not satisfied with the slow process which had hitherto been pursued, made a general assault. It failed, but scarcely a day passed without some new attempt to force an entrance into the place.

The siege had now lasted several months, while the preparations at Goa proved so dilatory, that the only relief sent to the garrison consisted of two insignificant detachments, the one commanded by Fernando de Castro, the governor's son, and the other by Don Alvaro. The latter consisted of 400 men, and brought supplies of ammunition and provision, when they were just on the point of being exhausted. The Portuguese were so elated that they disdained to be cooped up any longer in the fort, and almost compelled Mascarenhas against his better judgment to lead them out. They paid dearly for their rashness, and retreated with such precipitation, that they had the greatest difficulty in preventing the enemy from entering the fort along with them. Among the slain was the governor's own son.

Progress of
the siegeDiu finally
relieved by
De Castro.

This domestic misfortune seems to have had the effect of hastening De Castro's departure from Goa. What the cause of delay was is not explained; but it gives a poor idea of his energy and resources to learn, that at the end of eight months, while one of the most important stations which the Portuguese possessed in the East, and the acquisition of which had cost them more than any other, was in the most imminent danger, his preparations were for the first time considered to be complete. His fleet, which consisted of ninety-three sail, lost some time in committing barbarities at various localities on the coast, but at last, in 1545, was observed from Diu. The result was not long doubtful. After relieving the garrison, De Castro marched out at the head of his troops and gained a signal victory. The fall of the town followed of course, and the Portuguese acted, as they almost invariably did on such occa-

sions, by indulging in horrid atrocities. "The women escaped not the fate of the men, and children were slain at their mothers' breasts." A. D. 1570.

The victory which De Castro had gained was not very remarkable. His troops bore a considerable proportion to those of the enemy, and with the superiority of discipline which they possessed, it would have been disgraceful to him not to have succeeded. But the Portuguese, in consequence of the decline of their power, had for several years before enjoyed few opportunities of celebrating a victory, and therefore entered readily into the feelings of the governor, who thought himself entitled to be received at Goa with all the magnificence of a Roman triumph. The gates and streets were hung with silk, all places resounded with music and salvos of cannon, and vessels gaily adorned covered the harbour. The governor on arriving at the gate, under a rich canopy, was presented with a crown of laurel, with which he encircled his head, and a branch of it which he carried in his hand; in front walked one Friar Anthony, with a crucifix, as he had borne it in the fight, and beside him an officer bearing the royal standard; behind was Jazar Khan, a Moorish chief, followed by 600 captives in chains. The governor walked on leaves of gold and silver, and rich silks, the ladies from the windows throwing flowers upon him, and sprinkling him with sweet water. On reading the account of this pompous procession, Catherine, Queen of Portugal, shrewdly remarked, that "De Castro had overcome like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen." He did not long survive his triumph; and was on his death-bed when the honours sent out from Portugal to reward his victory were announced to him at Goa. He must have been a vain man, but this failing was compensated by many good qualities. He was so zealous for the public service, that grief for the miserable condition into which it had fallen is said to have broken his heart; and he gave the best proof of his honesty by dying in extreme poverty. One of his last acts was to make a formal protest, which he desired to be recorded, to the effect that "he had never made use of the king's nor any other man's money, nor driven any trade to increase his own stock." The practices of which he thus solemnly declared his innocence, undoubtedly prevailed to a great extent among the Portuguese officials, and go far to account for the rapidity with which Portugal fell from the high place which she once held in the East. From time to time, however, she seemed to resume her ancient spirit, and showed how much she might still have been able to accomplish, had men of spirit and integrity, instead of mere court intriguers, been placed at the helm of affairs.

In 1570, when Luis de Ataide was viceroy, one of the most formidable combinations into which the native princes had ever entered, was triumphantly defeated. It was headed by the Deccan Kings of Ahmednuggur and Bejapoor, and a new zamorin, who, undeterred by the fate of his predecessor, was bent on recovering all that had been wrested from him. Their common object was to expel the Portuguese from the country, but each had his own separate griev-

De Castro's ostentatious celebration of the victory

His death and character.

Combination of native princes.

A D 1570. ance; and hence, though the attack was simultaneous, it was made at three important stations—by the King of Ahmednuggur, at Choul—by the zamorin, at Chale, where a fort had been erected which overawed his capital at Calicut—and by the King of Bejapoor, at Goa. The last, as in every respect the most memorable, is the only one to which it is necessary here to advert.

Formidable
attack on
Goa by Ally
Adil Shah.

Ally Adil Shah, who was then sovereign of Bejapoor, having assembled an army of 100,000 foot and 35,000 horse, 2140 elephants and 350 pieces of cannon, suddenly descended from one of the passes of the Western Ghauts into the Concan, and then, turning south, marched without opposition upon Goa. No preparations had been made for this formidable attack; and the governor, on mustering his European troops, found that they did not exceed 700. Besides these he had about 1300 monks, whose zeal and fanaticism compensated in some degree for their want of discipline, and a considerable number of natives, on whom no great confidence could be placed. His great security was in his insular position, which, so long as he held the command at sea, made it impossible for the enemy to attempt an approach on any side but the one which lay nearest to the mainland. Against this side, accordingly, Ally Adil Shah directed all his efforts, and with such overpowering numbers and perseverance, that 5000 men succeeded in passing over into the island. It was only a temporary success; for the Portuguese, aware that if they made good their footing the place must surrender, mustered all their strength, and by one great effort, in which the most heroic valour was displayed, cut their assailants to pieces, or drove them into the sea. Ally Adil Shah had no heart to renew the combat; and, after lingering for a short time, took his final departure. More than 12,000 of his troops had perished. The attacks on Choul and Chale were equally unsuccessful. New lustre was thus added to the Portuguese arms; and many who looked only at the surface imagined that their power had never been established on a firmer basis. Those who looked deeper could not but see that the whole fabric was undermined and threatening ruin.

Causes of
Portuguese
decline.

It would be out of place here to examine in detail the various causes to which the overthrow of Portuguese supremacy in the East is attributable. A few, however, may be briefly mentioned. One of the most obvious is the comparative indifference of the Portuguese themselves. When they first doubled the Cape of Good Hope, India was the great goal for which they were striving, and all the exertions of which they were capable were exclusively devoted to it. By the discovery of Brazil a new interest was created, and gradually became the more absorbing because the more lucrative of the two. A small state like Portugal was unable to superintend the affairs of two mighty empires, situated at the opposite extremities of the globe; and experience seems to have proved that in giving the preference to the American continent she made the wiser choice. Both empires, indeed, are now lost to her; but in that of the West her own race of kings still sits enthroned.

Another cause of Portuguese decline in the East may be found in the state of European politics. In 1580, after the short and inglorious reign of Henry the Cardinal, Portugal lost her national independence, and became subject to the bigoted and tyrannical rule of Philip II. of Spain. She was thus obliged to follow in the wake of her more powerful neighbour, and see all her interests sacrificed in the prosecution of objects from which she could not possibly reap any advantage. While her domestic interests were sacrificed, it is not to be supposed that those of her colonies were duly attended to. In connection with the degrading bondage to which Portugal was thus reduced, we see a third cause of rapid decay in the hostility which Philip's arrogance provoked in other European states. The United Provinces of Holland, after throwing off his yoke, continued at open war with him, and saw no quarter in which they could so effectually resent the wrongs, and indemnify themselves for the losses they had suffered, as in the East. To the same quarter the eyes of the English had long been turned; and after they had triumphed gloriously over the Armada, which was to have enslaved them by a double yoke of the most intolerable description—the yoke of Spain and the yoke of Rome, all the friendly or prudential considerations which had prevented them from claiming a share in the Portuguese Indian monopoly ceased to have any weight, and their determination to establish an independent traffic in the East was openly avowed. Thus, at the very moment when Portugal was scarcely able to maintain her position, even had she been left alone to deal with native powers after her own fashion, she saw herself brought face to face with two most formidable competitors. To these we now turn.

A. D. 1580.
Causes of
Portuguese
decline.

CHAPTER IX.

Attempts to reach India by other routes than that of the Cape—Their failure by the north-west and north-east—The south-west passage practicable but circuitous—Superiority of the passage by the Cape generally recognized—First voyages of the English and Dutch by that route.



HENRY VII. of England had the reputation of being one of the most enlightened monarchs of his age, and in him, accordingly, Columbus hoped to find a patron at once able to appreciate his grand scheme of discovery, and disposed to advance the funds necessary for carrying it into effect. Unfortunately Henry, with all his talents, was of a penurious, avaricious temper, and remained so long in suspense between the advantages to be gained by the enterprise if it should succeed, and the pecuniary loss to which it would subject

Maritime
enterprise
in England.

A D 1498. him if it should prove a failure, that he lost the opportunity, and only signified his intention to accept the services of the great Genoese navigator when it was no longer possible for him to obtain them. Before Bartolommeo Columbus could return to announce the success of his mission to England, the discovery of the New World had already been achieved, and his illustrious brother was prosecuting a second voyage.

Charter
granted by
Henry VII.

The disappointment which Henry felt appears in the readiness with which he entered into a rival scheme of maritime discovery. A Venetian of the name of John Cabot, or Giovanni Caboto, had been settled for some time at Bristol, and to him and his three sons, Ludovico, Sebastiano, and Sanzio, the English monarch, on the 5th of March, 1496, granted a charter, empowering them, in the most unlimited terms, to make voyages of discovery in his name. There was no great liberality in the grant, for it cost him nothing; and while he refused to bear any part of the expense, he was niggardly enough to stipulate for a fifth of the whole profit. Simply for the privilege of sailing under the English flag, and becoming governors under the English crown of any lands which might be discovered, they were to bear the whole loss, and in the event of profit allow another to share it with them. It gives a high idea of the spirit of maritime enterprise in England at this period, that even when subjected to such rigorous terms, a Venetian stranger, and his three sons, were able to fit out five vessels for an experimental voyage to the West.

Newfound-
land discov-
ered.

As a mercantile speculation the voyage entirely failed; but by the discovery of Newfoundland and of the west coast of North America, a foundation was laid for the series of colonies or plantations which, under the united influences of



SEBASTIAN CABOT.—Syer's History of Bristol.

Sebastian
Cabot

small, that he quitted the service of England for that of Spain, which showed the high sense entertained of his merits by giving him a seat in the council of the Indies.

freedom and commerce, have made the language and not a few of the most valued institutions of England triumphant in the western world. The accounts of the early proceedings of the Cabots are so indistinct, that it is difficult to say whether one or two voyages were made. If, as seems most probable, there were two, the latter, which took place in 1498, was commanded by Sebastian, whose fame as a navigator ultimately threw that of his father and brothers into the shade. At this time, however, the encouragement he received was so

About the same time when England was attempting, though with slow and faltering steps, to follow Columbus in his career of discovery, Portugal was not so entirely absorbed in the prosecution of discoveries in the direction of Africa as to be insensible to the vast changes which might be anticipated from the discovery of a western world. If, according to the idea then generally entertained by geographers, the northern extremity of America formed a rocky headland, with an open sea beyond it, then all the efforts which Portugal had made to discover a passage to India by the south-east must prove in a great measure abortive, because a much nearer passage would enable the maritime nations of Western Europe to secure all the advantages for which she had been striving. This was a danger too obvious and imminent to be overlooked; and therefore the Portuguese no sooner were acquainted with the discovery of the New World, than they determined on an exploratory voyage to the north-west, for the purpose of ascertaining whether such a practicable passage existed, and if it did, of securing a monopoly of it on the ground of priority of discovery.

A D. 1501.

Portuguese
attempts to
discover the
north-west
passage

The only Portuguese navigators whose names figure in the voyages undertaken with this view, were a father and three sons, belonging to the illustrious house of Cortereal. Of the father, John Vaz Cortereal, scarcely anything is known, and hence, probably because fiction has been employed as a substitute for fact, it has been confidently maintained that he reached the shores of Newfoundland even before Columbus made his first voyage. The proceedings of his son Gaspar are better authenticated. In 1500, having been furnished by King Emanuel with two ships, he touched, first at Terceira, one of the Azores, and then sailed north-west, in the hope of finding an open ocean, by which he could penetrate directly to India. Having reached land in the parallel of 50°, he pursued his course northwards along the coast. Both from its position, and the description given of it, it must have formed part of Labrador, which, accordingly, in the earliest maps, bears not this name, but that of Cortereal. He advanced to latitude 60°, but being deterred by the rigour of the climate and floating mountains of ice from proceeding farther, he seized fifty-seven of the natives, and carried them off to Portugal, where, to his disgrace and that of his sovereign, they appear to have been employed as slaves. He arrived at Lisbon on the 8th of October, 1501, and immediately resolved on another voyage. Early in spring, having completed his preparations, he again set sail with his two vessels, and steered directly for the most northerly point he had previously reached. So far the voyage was prosperous; but immediately after, a violent storm, in a sea covered with icebergs, obliged the vessels to separate. That in which Gaspar sailed was never heard of.

Gaspar
Cortereal.

As soon as tidings of the disaster reached Lisbon, a younger brother, of the name of Miguel, hastily fitted out three vessels, and set sail, with the double object of searching for the missing ship, and following up the course of discovery which Gaspar had begun. On arriving at that arm of the Atlantic which

Miguel
Cortereal.

A.D. 1517. branches off between the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, the vessels parted company, in order that each might explore a separate entrance. The expedient seemed judicious, but the result proved disastrous. Only two of the vessels returned to Portugal: in the third Miguel appears to have met the same fate as Gaspar. A third brother, Vasco Eanes, inspired by the heroic spirit of his family, volunteered to head a new expedition; but the king, thinking that enough had already been sacrificed in enterprises the success of which seemed now more than problematical, refused his consent, and the Portuguese desisted from any further attempt to discover a north-west passage to India.

British
expedition
to the
north-west

Shortly after the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England an attempt was made to revive the spirit of maritime enterprise, which his father during the latter years of his life had allowed to languish, but other occupations more congenial to his taste, though less conducive to his honour, soon began to engross Henry's attention, and during his long reign English maritime discovery presents an almost continuous blank. The only important exception is an expedition to the north-west in 1517. Sebastian Cabot had probably expected that Spain, to which he had transferred his services, would employ them in an endeavour to ascertain the practicability of a north-west passage. If this was his hope, it was disappointed; for the magnificent territories which Spain was acquiring in the more genial latitude of Mexico, and the immense wealth which had in consequence begun to flow into her treasury, left her little inclination to prosecute a hazardous and doubtful enterprise in the frozen regions of the North. Cabot, however, having gained his earliest laurels in this field, was determined not to abandon it, and returned to England, where he had the satisfaction to learn that his services, again volunteered, were accepted. He was confident of success; and after entering Hudson's Bay, considered himself on the fair way to Cataia, or China, to which, according to his own strong expression, he "both could and would have gone," when the opposition of Sir Thomas Peart, under whom, as Vice-admiral of England, he held only a subordinate command, and a failure of courage on the part of his crew, obliged him to return.

Robert
Thorne's
memorial to
Henry VIII

The failure of this expedition seemed to justify Henry in the apathy he had previously manifested, and ten additional years had passed away, when his attention was once more called to the subject by an English merchant of the name of Robert Thorne, who, after a long residence at Seville, had finally settled in London. This gentleman, while in Spain, had formed a close connection with Sebastian Cabot, and become thoroughly imbued with his ideas as to the practicability of reaching the East Indies by some northern outlet from the Atlantic. Seeing how completely the subject had fallen into abeyance, he presented a memorial to the king, in which, after adverting to the natural desire which all princes have to extend their dominions, and which Henry himself had evinced by his recent expedition to France, he thus proceeds:—

"Now I, considering this your noble courage and desire, and also perceiving that your grace may, at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour to your grace, or any of your subjects, amplifie and inrich this your sayd realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret unto your grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath beene hid; which is, that with a small number of ships there may be discovered divers new lands and kingdomes, in which without doubt your grace shall winne perpetual glory, and your subjects infinite profite."

Ca.
A.D. 1527.

Thorne's
memorial to
Henry VIII.

The so-called "secret," thus announced rather more pompously than the comparatively trite ideas composing it seem to justify, was simply the possibility of reaching the East by a voyage northwards. The memorial accordingly thus continues:—"There is left one way to discover, which is into the Northe; for that of the foure partes of the worlde, three partes are discovered by other princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident they have encompassed the worlde."

The North being thus the only field of maritime discovery not foreclosed, the memorial, after adducing several pithy reasons why Henry should immediately occupy it, enters into an explanation of the different courses which vessels fitted out for discovery might take, and the results that might be anticipated. The first object, of course, is to pass the pole; but of this, though really the crowning difficulty, Mr. Thorne makes light, and then proceeds:—

"If they will go toward the Orient, they shall enjoy the region of all the Tartarians that extend toward the mid-day, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their navigation, following the coasts that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa; and thus they shall compass the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole toward the Occident, they shall goe to the backe side of the New found land, which of late was discovered by your grace's subjects, untill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage, they may returne through the Streight of Magellan to this countrey; and so they compass also the world by this way. And if they goe the thirde way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antartique, and then decline toward the lands and islands situated between the Tropikes and under the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall find there the richest lands and islands of the world, of golde, precious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most; which come out of strange countries, and may returne the same way." The conclusion is:—

His views as
to a north-
ern passage
to India.

A.D. 1547. "By this it appeareth, your grace hath not onely a great advantage of the riches, but also your subjects shall not travell half of the way that other doe which go round about as aforesayd."

Effects of
Thorne's
memorial.

This memorial, though containing little that is new and much that is erroneous, seemed worthy of quotation, both because it gives a good account of the views entertained by the best geographers of the period, and because it appears to have had the effect of bestirring Henry to make a final effort of maritime discovery. As it led to no important results, and the accounts of it are scanty in the extreme, it is unnecessary to notice it further. In similar silence lies buried another expedition, undertaken, a few years after, at the expense, not of the crown, but of a wealthy inhabitant of London, who gave it an appearance so attractive that the youths of family and fortune were induced to embark along with him. Neither he nor his associates were well qualified for the task which they had undertaken; and disaster followed disaster till famine reduced them to the dire necessity of cannibalism. They were preparing to cast lots for the next victim, when the capture of a French vessel furnished a small remnant with provisions and the means of regaining their native land.

Maritime
enterprise
under Ed-
ward VI.

On the accession of Edward VI., in 1547, an era more favourable to maritime enterprise was anticipated, and would doubtless have been realized had his life been prolonged. Sebastian Cabot, as ardent and sanguine as ever, had arrived; and the youthful monarch, smitten with kindred enthusiasm, had appointed him grand-pilot of England, with a liberal salary. Under the stimulus thus applied, a new scheme of discovery was soon arranged and zealously supported by London merchants, "men of great wisdom and gravity." Robert Thorne, in the memorial above quoted, had pointed out three different directions in which experimental voyages might be made. Hitherto only one of them had been tried, but the results were most discouraging; and it was therefore resolved that the next voyage should change the direction, and endeavour to discover a passage to the Indies by the north-east.

Sir Hugh
Willoughby.

The requisite funds, amounting to £6000, were raised in shares of £25 each, apportioned among the members of a kind of joint-stock company formed for the purpose. With this sum three vessels were built, and fitted up in a style with which Sebastian Cabot, who was governor of the company, and undertook the management of its nautical affairs, was so well pleased as to declare that "the like was never in any realm seen used or known." The chief command was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, who sailed in the principal vessel. Under him, and in command of the second vessel, was Richard Chancellor. Besides a series of instructions drawn up by Cabot for the guidance of the officers and crew, the expedition was furnished by King Edward with a letter addressed to all "kings, princes, rulers, judges, and governors of the earth," requesting them "to permit unto these our servants free passage by your regions and dominions, for they shall not touch anything of yours unwilling unto you," and promising "by the

God of all things that are contained in heaven, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillity of our kingdoms, that we will with like humanity accept your servants if at any time they shall come to our kingdoms." On the 10th May, 1553, the three vessels dropped down to Greenwich, where the court and

A.D. 1553.



GREENWICH, in 1662.—Cruden's History of Gravesend.

a vast assemblage from all quarters witnessed their departure amid salvos of artillery and the shouting of the mariners, "in such sort that the sky rang with the noise thereof."

After leaving the river, the vessels were detained on the Essex coast till the 23d, when, the winds becoming favourable, they began their course across the German Ocean. On the 14th of July they had reached lat. 68°, among the islands of the Norway coast, and not long after came within sight of the North Cape. Their intention was to remain together; but in the event of their being obliged to part company, Wardhuys, in Finmark, was appointed as the port of rendezvous. The contingency thus provided for happened sooner than any had anticipated, and with very fatal results. Shortly after passing the cape, the weather became so stormy that the vessels were forced out to sea, and driven at the mercy of the winds. Willoughby, whose skill and caution seem not to have been equal to his courage, carried so much sail that Chancellor was unable to keep up with him, and never saw him more. His fate remained unknown till some Russian sailors discovered two tall vessels frozen in on the coast of Lapland. On entering them, they found the lifeless bodies of Willoughby and his companions. Along with the journal of the voyage was a note, showing, by its date, that the crews were alive in January, 1554. They had reached the coast of Nova Zembla without being able to land upon it, and then penetrated still deeper into the abysses of the Arctic Ocean. Convinced at last of their mistake, they retraced their steps, and in returning westward unfortunately missed the opening of the White Sea, within which they might have found a sheltered anchorage. On reaching the coast beyond, they had resolved to make it their winter-quarters, intending to prosecute their voyage in the ensuing spring. Before it arrived the intense cold had frozen them to death.

Departure
of the expe-
dition.Fate of
Willoughby

A. D. 1558.

Richard
Chancellor.

Chancellor was more fortunate. By keeping near the coast he had reached Wardhuys without much difficulty; and after waiting seven days in the hope that the other vessels might arrive, continued his course "till he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continued light and brightness of the sun, shining clearly upon the great and mighty sea." Ultimately he was carried into the White Sea, and anchored in the harbour of Archangel. On learning that it formed part of the vast dominions of the Czar of Muscovy, he determined on visiting his capital of Moscow; and by means of the letter which he carried from his sovereign, and his own address, obtained such a favourable reception from the reigning sovereign, Ivan Vasilovitsch, as enabled him to lay the foundation of the Muscovy or Russian Company on very advantageous terms. The important traffic secured by this company withdrew attention, for a time, from the north-east passage; and many were even so sanguine as to imagine that by this company alone it might be possible to establish an intercourse with India, by which the necessity of any other passage would be in a great measure superseded.

The Russian
Company.Attempts to
reach India
through
Russia.

The plan was to make Archangel the starting point, and then, striking the Volga where it first becomes navigable, sail down into the Caspian, and thus form a communication with the ancient overland routes from the East. Journeys, with a view to the establishment of this communication, were actually undertaken, and several of the travellers employed penetrated far into the interior of Asia. The whole scheme, however, was a delusion. The Venetians, when in complete command of the overland traffic by much shorter and more convenient routes, had been driven from all the leading markets of Europe by the Portuguese. How, then, could the Russian Company hope to compete with them, when, in addition to the carriage paid by the Venetians, they were burdened with at least 2000 miles of expensive transport, part of it over an ocean always dangerous, and during half the year rendered inaccessible by mountains of ice?

North west
passage.

These considerations soon opened men's eyes to the hopelessness of establishing a profitable traffic with India by the way of the White Sea, and the exploration of the north-east and north-west passages was resumed more ardently than ever. The latter passage, indeed, continued to be explored long after the impossibility of using it as an ocean thoroughfare to the East was universally recognized; and even in our own times, in the formidable task of exploring this passage, some of our most distinguished British navigators have earned their best laurels, and some of them, too, have unhappily perished. The north-east passage, which at one time seemed the more hopeful of the two, was sooner abandoned, but not before the utmost skill and hardihood both of British and Dutch seamen had been expended upon it in vain. Some of their attempts, considered as preliminary steps in the process which eventually brought them into direct collision with the Portuguese, are here entitled to at least a passing notice.

About the time when the Muscovy-Indian scheme proved abortive, some accurate knowledge was obtained of the great Asiatic rivers, the Obe and Yenisei; and Gerard Mercator, the celebrated cosmographer, when consulted on the subject, gave it as his opinion that at no great distance beyond the point which navigators had already reached, a great headland, then supposed to form the north-east extremity of Asia, would be found. This headland once passed, nothing more was necessary than to turn south, and steer directly for Japan and China. This was an enormous blunder, for it cut off, at one sweep, more than a fourth of the whole circumference of the globe; but it is only fair to Mercator to observe, that it was not so much his blunder as the common blunder of the time, for all his contemporaries shared it with him.

A. D. 1580.

Gerard
Mercator.

In accordance with Mercator's opinion, the great problem of a north-east passage to India now seemed on the eve of receiving a favourable solution. In 1580, two English vessels, under the command of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, sailed for Wardhuys, which they reached on the 23d of June. A few days after, they continued their voyage eastward, and on approaching Nova Zembla narrowly escaped being embedded in a field of ice. After disentangling themselves by taking a very circuitous route, they proceeded along an open passage, and had the mortification to discover that it formed a kind of *cul de sac*, from which they had no possible outlet except by retracing their steps. This accomplished, they had a most favourable wind, but found it impossible to avail themselves of it in consequence of enormous icebergs which blocked up the course, leaving no space between, and along which they could not steer without risking almost certain destruction. Thus obstructed, and obliged, as they piously express it, to wait with patience, "abiding the Lord's leisure," they did not arrive at Vaigatz Straits till the middle of August. It was consequently too late to advance further eastward, and the expedition returned without having added one particle to the information previously possessed. The English, having found more necessary and hopeful employment in another quarter, desisted for many years from all further attempts to discover a north-east passage. The task, however, instead of being abandoned, was only transferred to new hands.

North-east
passage
again at-
tempted.

The United Provinces, after a long, arduous, and noble struggle, had achieved their independence, and rid themselves for ever of the galling yoke of Spain. Even while groaning under that yoke, the untiring industry of the population, and the narrow scope for exercising it in a country hemmed in on all sides, and constantly threatened by the sea, had turned their attention chiefly to commerce. On the broad expanse of the ocean they found their true thoroughfare, and gradually rose to a foremost place among the maritime nations of Europe. Their own consumption was not great, but their vessels were found in all seas acting as common carriers for other nations. In this way they had obtained a large share in the Indian trade, which had its emporium at Lisbon, to which the goods were brought from the East by the Portuguese, and from which they were

Attempts of
the Dutch

A. D. 1595. afterwards diffused over Europe. At the very time when the Dutch secured, the Portuguese were deprived of their independence, Philip II. of Spain having usurped the crown of Portugal, and incorporated its dominions with his own. Lisbon having, in consequence, fallen into the hands of their vindictive enemy, the Dutch were, in 1584, completely excluded from it. The injury thus inflicted on their trade was at first severely felt, but the only effect was to inspire them with a determination not to rest till they had succeeded in establishing a direct communication with the East. The route by the Cape of Good Hope was now well known; and as all the Portuguese possessions had fallen under the power of their declared enemy, they could have no scruple in attacking them. In the first instance, however, they imitated the example of the English, and endeavoured to discover an independent route by the north-east.

William
Barentz.

The first expedition, undertaken by a private company, with the sanction but without any direct assistance from the States, consisted of four vessels, under the command of William Barentz. They sailed from the Texel on the 5th of June, 1594, and on approaching Nova Zembla separated, two of the vessels taking the old route toward Vaigatz Straits, while the other two, under the command of Barentz, adopted the bolder course of sailing northwards, with the view of keeping clear of the masses of ice which clustered round the island. Barentz does not seem to have justified his high reputation as a seaman. By the 1st of August he had not advanced beyond the north extremity of Nova Zembla, in lat. 77°, and then, deterred by the violence of the wind and the large masses of floating ice, prematurely determined to return. The other detachment was more persevering. After working their way through Vaigatz Straits, and succeeding, with much difficulty, in sailing round some immense icebergs which had threatened to bar their future progress, the two vessels arrived at a blue open sea, and saw the coast trending rapidly southwards. It was only the Gulf of Obe; but, led astray by Mercator's blunder, they believed that they had doubled the north extremity of Asia, and consequently discovered the passage of which they were in search. It might have been expected, that instead of resting satisfied with this conviction they would have endeavoured to make assurance doubly sure, and prevented the possibility of mistake by advancing some hundred leagues into the sea, which, if their opinion had been correct, would have carried them directly to Japan. Instead of this they immediately retraced their steps, and having again joined Barentz on the coast of Russian Lapland, arrived in the Texel on the 10th of September.

False hopes.

The tidings which they brought diffused universal joy; and the States-general, no longer satisfied with giving a bare sanction, took the lead, in 1595, in fitting out a new expedition on a more extensive scale. It consisted of six vessels, intended not merely to explore, but to commence the traffic which, according to the general belief, was about to be permanently established, and pour the wealth of the East into the ports of Holland. Such being the expecta-

tion, the arrangements were adapted to it; and the vessels, instead of being constructed as before to bear the rude shocks of the polar ice, were framed in the manner best adapted for the rich cargoes of merchandise with which they were laden. The very idea of such an expedition had originated in a gross error; but, as if this had not been sufficient, the period of sailing was protracted to the 2d of June, when nearly two months of the season most favourable for a northern voyage were already past. The vessels never got farther than the eastern entrance of the Straits of Vaigatz. When they reached it, they were met by immense bodies of floating ice, against which they struggled manfully till the end of September. Then at last the conviction forced itself upon them that they were labouring in vain, and that nothing more remained than to turn their face homewards.

Not one of the results so confidently anticipated had been obtained. In proportion to the extravagance of the expectation was the bitterness of the disappointment. The States general at once disconnected themselves with the project, and deemed it sufficient to hold out a pecuniary reward to any individual or association who should first succeed in effecting the passage which they had themselves attempted in vain. The town of Amsterdam at once took up the gauntlet which the government had thus in a manner thrown down; and wisely, in the meantime, renouncing all idea of traffic, fitted out two vessels solely for exploration. The command of the one was given to William Barentz, whose previous voyage has already been mentioned; and of the other to John Corneliz Ryp. As some security against that longing for home, under the influence of which the previous expeditions were supposed to have returned prematurely, all the individuals belonging to the expedition were unmarried.

Disappointment.

The vessels sailed on the 10th of May, 1596; and, in order to avoid the dangers of the coast, sailed nearly due north. Currents and easterly winds carried them so far west that they came in sight of the Shetland Isles on the 22d. Here the commanders, who appear to have had equal powers, differed in opinion. Barentz wished to tack about, and steer due east; while Ryp, who argued that in this way they would only become entangled, like previous expeditions, among the floating icebergs of the Vaigatz Straits, insisted on sailing N.N.E. His opinion prevailed. They were soon in the depths of the Arctic Ocean, and after a dangerous and dreary navigation, constantly obstructed by fields of ice, reached the coast of Spitzbergen, in lat. 80°. They now changed their course, and, sailing south, arrived at Bear Island, which they had previously passed. Here the captains again differed in opinion; and, as on this occasion neither would yield, the vessels parted company. Ryp proceeded north, with the view of following the east coast of Spitzbergen, and was ultimately obliged to retrace his steps without doing anything which his contemporaries deemed worthy of being recorded. Barentz sailed E.S.E., and met with a series of adventures which, though they form a most interesting narrative,

Expedition by Barentz and Ryp.

A.D. 1597.

would here be out of place, as they throw no new light on the attempted north-east passage to India. Suffice it to say, that, after wintering on the shore of Nova Zembla, he was obliged, in the June of the following year, to leave his ship embedded in the ice, and set out, with the survivors of his crew, to make the voyage homewards in two small boats. Anxiety, fatigue, and the severities of the climate had destroyed his health, and he died by the way. His companions, after enduring almost unparalleled hardships, reached Kola, where, to their astonishment and delight, they found the other vessel from which they had been so long parted, and proceeded in it to Amsterdam.

Henry
Hudson.

The existence of a north-east passage was now virtually disproved; and though subsequent explorations took place, particularly by the celebrated navigator, Henry Hudson, who was employed for this purpose on one occasion by the English, and on another by the Dutch, it is unnecessary to trace them. All reasonable men were now satisfied that no north-east passage to India, practically available for the ordinary purposes of commerce, existed; and the only choice now remaining was between the old beaten track of the Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope, and a south-west passage by the southern extremity of the American continent. Of the latter passage a brief account must now be given.

South-west
passage.

The practicability of a south-west passage to the East was proved at a comparatively early period. Fernando de Magellan, or more properly Magalhaens,



FERDINAND MAGELLAN.—FROM A PORTRAIT BY F. SELMA.¹

a native of Portugal, after serving five years in the East under Albuquerque, and distinguishing himself at the taking of Malacca, being dissatisfied with the niggardly manner in which his services had been rewarded, made an offer of them to the Emperor Charles V. They were accepted; and he immediately presented the project of a voyage, by which he proposed to reach the East Indies by sailing south-west. The great object of attraction in that quarter was the Moluccas, which grew the finest spices. These were then in such high and general request, that

there was no branch of the Portuguese trade of which a share was more eagerly coveted. There was one great obstacle in the way. The pope had divided the world into two halves. How could Charles, as a professed champion of the church, appropriate any portion of the half which his holiness had given to the Portuguese? The true way of loosing the knot was to cut it, and

¹ In *Relacion del ultimo Viage al estrecho de Magellanes*, Madrid, 1787.

to maintain that, in this instance, as in many others, the pope had ignorantly and arrogantly made free with a property which did not belong to him. The time for such a solution of the difficulty was rapidly approaching, but it had not yet arrived; and Magalhaens undertook to rid Charles of his scruples by proving that the Moluccas were not in the Portuguese but in the Spanish half. He was wrong in fact, but correct according to the idea then entertained of the dimensions of the globe. It is probable, however, that the emperor was not difficult to satisfy, as he afterwards showed, on many occasions, how easily he could dispose of Papal claims when they interfered with any of his favourite political objects. Be this as it may, Magalhaens obtained his wish.

On the 20th of September, 1519, he sailed from Sanlucar in command of five ships and 236 men. On the 12th of January, 1520, he reached the mouth of the La Plata, where he was detained for some time by a mutiny of his men, who deemed it degradation to obey one whom they stigmatized as a renegade Portuguese. By prudence and resolution he regained his ascendancy; and towards the end of October began to enter the strait which has since borne his name. On the 27th of November he obtained his first view of the Pacific, and, steering directly across it, missed all the islands by which it is studded, and again saw land for the first time on the 6th of March, 1521, when he came in view of the islands which, from the thievish practices of the inhabitants, were named the Ladrões. Continuing onwards, he arrived at the archipelago of St. Lazarus, afterwards called the Philippines, in honour of Philip II. While here, he induced the chief of the island of Zebu to make a profession of Christianity, and become tributary to the King of Spain, on condition of being assisted in his war with the chief of the island of Matan. In fulfilling this condition, Magalhaens unfortunately lost his life on the 26th of April, 1521. The circumnavigation which he had so far successfully accomplished, was completed by Sebastian del Cano, who succeeded him in the command, and arrived at Sanlucar on the 22d of September, 1522, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope from the eastward.

Magalhaens' voyage gave proof of two important facts—first, that there was no physical impossibility of reaching the East Indies by sailing west; and, secondly, that, under ordinary circumstances, this route never could become the ocean thoroughfare from Europe. It might be used for special purposes, but being far more circuitous, was also necessarily both more tedious and more expensive. Further notice of it would hence be unnecessary, were it not that an adventitious interest has been given to it as the route which first led the British to the East, and furnished the information which determined them not to rest satisfied till they had obtained a direct share in its traffic. Two of the voyages are, on this account, well entitled to special mention—the one by Sir Francis Drake, and the other by Mr. Thomas Cavendish.

After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, and the decided refusal of her hand when impertinently asked by Philip II, the friendly relations between

A. D. 1558.

Magalhaens' circumnavigation of the globe

Its results

A. D. 1579. England and Spain were entirely at an end; and though hostilities were not openly declared, it was perfectly understood that, at least on the part of Spain,



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.
After a picture in the Collection of the Marquis of Lothian.

Sir Francis
Drake

they were only delayed in order that the preparations for carrying them on with effect might be rendered more complete. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, frequent rencounters took place; and the natives of either country, whenever favourable opportunities occurred, made no scruples of treating those of the other as open enemies. In this kind of irregular, predatory warfare, Francis Drake, who, originally of obscure parentage from the vicinity of Tavistock, in Devonshire, had won a high name for valour and seamanship, particularly distinguished himself. He had made two successful

cruises against the Spaniards, and acquired so much wealth that he was able, in 1577, to fit out a fleet of five small vessels, with an aggregate crew of 164 men. The largest vessel, commanded by himself, did not exceed 100 tons; the smallest was only 15 tons. With these he set sail from Plymouth on the 13th of December, 1577, and steered directly across the Atlantic. On the 20th of August, 1578, he arrived in the Straits of Magalhaens, passed them, and then continued his course northwards along the west coast of America till he had reached 48° N. latitude. He had probably proceeded thus far in the hope of discovering some opening by which he might again pass into the Atlantic. Disappointed in this expectation, he retraced his steps for about 10°, and then, with the only vessel now remaining of his original five, shot boldly across the Pacific. On the 29th of September, 1579, he came in sight of the Moluccas. On the 4th of November he cast anchor at Ternate. He afterwards wound his way westward among the islands of the Indian Archipelago, doubled the Cape of Good Hope,

sails round
the globe.



DRAKE'S ASTROLABE.¹
From original in Greenwich Hospital.

¹ Among the many relics of England's naval heroes enshrined in that appropriate repository, Greenwich Hospital, few are more interesting, few attract more attention, than the subject of the above engraving—

the astrolabe, or instrument for taking the altitude of the sun or stars—once belonging to the famous Drake, which was constructed for him prior to his first expedition to the West Indies in 1570.

and, on the 26th of September, 1580, cast anchor again in the harbour of Plymouth. A.D. 1588.

It is presumed, that when Drake set out he had an understanding with the government, but it was not deemed politic to acknowledge it. His proceedings, as war had not been declared, were certainly of a piratical character; and when the Spanish court complained of them, it was easier to disavow his authority than to apologize for his conduct. The nation, however, was so much elated by his achievements, and the determination to profit by the information which he had brought home was so unanimous, that Queen Elizabeth, after standing aloof for some time, threw aside all reserve, publicly visited him on board his ship at Deptford, and attested her approbation of his conduct by conferring upon him the honour of knighthood. A few years later, Sir Francis Drake again awakened the public mind to the importance of the trade with India by the capture of a Portuguese carrack, whose cargo of almost fabulous value inflamed the imagination, while its papers and journals furnished most important information as to the means by which a direct trade with India might be most easily established, and most successfully carried on.

In 1586, about two years before Drake had made this capture, Mr. Thomas Cavendish commenced the other voyage by the Straits of Magalhaens above

Thomas
Cavendish

referred to. His fleet of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, was manned by 126 officers and sailors, several of whom had accompanied Drake when he circumnavigated the globe. The expedition sailed on the 21st of July; and, following the course which Drake had taken, proceeded through the Straits of Magalhaens, skirted the west coast of America, making many rich captures, and committing much unjustifiable devastation; and then steered across the Pacific for the Ladrões, which were reached on the 3d of January, 1587. The future course of the voyage is thus summed up by Cavendish him-

sails for the
Pacific.



JEWEL PRESENTED TO DRAKE
BY QUEEN ELIZABETH. — From
original in Netwell Court



THOMAS CAVENDISH. — From a print by PAUL.

self. In a letter to Lord Hunsdon, lord-chamberlain, dated 9th September, 1588, he says,—

“I am humbly to desire your honour to make known unto her majesty the desire I have

A.D. 1588. had to doe her majesty service in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her overthrowe them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their warres, are now perfectly discovered; and if it please her majesty, with a very smal power she may take the spoile of them all. It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumpasse the whole globe of the worlde, entering in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Buena Esperança. In which voyage I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian. I navigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva España, where I made great spoiles; I burnt and sunk nineteen sailes of ships, small and great. All the villages and townes that ever I landed at I burnt and spoiled; and had I not bene discovered upon the coast I had taken great quantitie of treasure. The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the king's which I took at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of merchandise that ever passed those seas, as the king's register and merchants' accounts did shew; for it did amount in value to — in Mexico to be solde. Which goods (for that my ships were not able to containe the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nueva España, I navigated to the islands of the Philippinas, hard upon the coast of China; of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which country I feare to make report of, lest I should not be credited: for if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have bene as incredulous thereof as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sailed along the islands of the Malucos, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our country men may have trade as freely as the Portugals if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperança, and found out by the way homeward the island of St. Helena, where the Portugals use to relieve themselves; and from that island God hath suffered me to return into England. All which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at her majestie's feet, desiring the Almighty long to continue her reigne among us; for at this day she is the most famous and victorious prince that liveth in the world."

Cavendish's
account of
his voyage.

In returning homewards, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled on the 16th of March, 1588; and Plymouth harbour was reached, after a prosperous voyage, on the 9th of September.

Establish-
ment of the
Levant
Company.

While the information thus flowing in from successful navigators was paving the way for the establishment of direct traffic with the East Indies, other incidents were contributing powerfully to the same end. Notice has been repeatedly taken of the important Indian trade which had been carried on, almost from time immemorial, by the way of the Levant. For many centuries the English had been contented to receive their supplies of Indian produce at second hand from some one or other of the Italian maritime cities; but latterly, particularly after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they had agents of their own in the different ports of the Levant, and thus procured the means of carrying on an active and lucrative trade in their own vessels. When this trade had acquired such extent and consistency as to entitle it to be regarded as a national interest, the queen entered into a commercial treaty with Turkey, securing for her subjects all the advantages which other nations enjoyed; and immediately thereafter, in 1581, granted a charter of exclusive privileges to a mercantile association which assumed the name of the Levant Company. This company, not satisfied with confining its connections to the ports of the Levant, extended

them far into the interior, and sent out many agents, whose journals and travels furnished, from time to time, valuable information with regard to Indian traffic. A. D. 1581.

It has sometimes been alleged that the immediate occasion of the formation of the Levant Company, was the loss of a vessel laden with Indian produce on the Goodwin Sands. The *argosy* which is referred to, and is thought to have derived the name, common to all vessels of its class, from the town of Ragusa, in Dalmatia, belonged to the Venetians, and sufficed to carry, at a single voyage, as much Indian produce as supplied the demand of the kingdom of England for a whole year. The wreck of this vessel proved so disastrous, that the Venetians ceased thenceforth to pay their annual visit. The English, thus cut off from the supply on which they had been accustomed to depend, had no alternative but to send for the goods which they could not otherwise obtain; and hence the formation of the Levant Company. Such is the theory propounded; and, in accordance with it, it is added that the same circumstance which led to the formation of the Levant Company, suggested to Shakspeare the idea of the "Merchant of Venice."

Venetian
argosy lost
on the
Goodwin
Sands.

The loss of an argosy on the Goodwin Sands, about ten years before the date usually assigned to the first representation of Shakspeare's immortal play, is a well-authenticated fact; and he speaks with all the truth of history when he says (act ii. scene 8):—

"I reasoned with a Frenchman yesterday,
Who told me, in the narrow seas that part
The French and English, there miscarried
A vessel of our country, richly fraught."

And again (act iii. scene 1):—

"The Goodwins, I think they call the place; a very dangerous flat."

Unfortunately, however, for the theory, it is impossible to connect the loss of the argosy with the foundation of the Levant Company without committing a palpable anachronism. The charter of the company was granted in 1581; the argosy was not lost till 1587. If the Venetians sent no more argosies after this date, the fact was probably owing, not to any horror of "the narrow seas that part the French and English," for they were well inured to brave far greater dangers, but to their inability to derive any profit from a traffic which could never have been very lucrative after the Portuguese had fairly entered the European market, and in which they had recently been brought into competition with a native company powerful in itself, and enjoying the special favour of the crown. The retirement of the Venetians was only one of the signs from which a sagacious merchant might have inferred that the Indian trade had deserted its ancient channels, and that England had become too well acquainted with its nature, and too much alive to its importance, to allow it to be any longer monopolized by Spaniards and Portuguese claiming the monopoly on Anachronism.

A.D. 1582. the ground, not so much of priority of discovery, as of a *brutum fulmen* issued by the execrable pope, Alexander VI.

Queen Elizabeth's enlightened views

Queen Elizabeth had early struck at the root of all claims to monopolize the navigation of the ocean by declaring, in answer to the complaints of the Spanish ambassador against the English for navigating the Indian seas, "that the ocean was free to all, forasmuch as neither nature nor regard of public use do permit the exclusive possession thereof;" and again, "that as to Drake sailing on the Indian seas, it was as lawful for her subjects to do so as for the Spaniards; since the sea and air are common to all men." This latter declaration was made in 1580; and evidence was soon given that, instead of being maintained merely as an abstract principle, the justice of which could not be disputed, it was henceforth to be carried into practical operation. In the third volume of *Hackluyt*, pp. 754-757, there is a paper dated 9th April, 1582, and entitled, "Instructions given by the right honourable the Lordes of the Counsell to Mr. Edward Fenton, Esquire, for the order to be observed in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay."

Fenton's direct voyage to the East.

It appears from these "Instructions," which are twenty-four in number, that the direct, and, indeed, the exclusive route, intended for this voyage to "the East Indies and Cathay," was by the Cape of Good Hope. The ninth Instruction is as follows:—"You shall use all diligence possible to depart from Southampton with your sayd ships and vessels before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de Buena Esperança, not passing by the Streight of Magellan either going or returning, except upon great occasion incident that shall bee thought otherwise good to you, by the advise and consent of your sayd assistants, or foure of them at the least." The tenth Instruction, following out the same route, says, "You shall not passe to the northeastward of the 40 degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the isles of the Mulucos, for the better discovery of the north-west passage, if without hinderance of your trade; and within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, whereof you shall do wel to be inquisitive, as occasion in this sort may serve."

Instructions for the voyage.

It does not exactly appear to what extent government had furnished the means of this voyage, but the language employed clearly implies that the lords of council possessed the entire control over it. Thus, at the very outset, they say (Instructions 1, 2, 3):—

"First, you shall enter as capitaine-generall into the charge and government of these shippes, the *Beare* gallion, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the barke *Francis*, and the small frigate, or pinnesse. Item, you shall appoint, for the furnishing of the vessels, in the whole to the number of 200 able persons, accompting in that number the gentlemen and their men, the ministers, chirurgians, factors, &c., which sayd number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be to be sea-men; and shall distribute them into every vessels, as by advise here before your going shall be thought meete. Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waightie causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take unto you for assistants, Capitaine Hawkins, Capitaine Ward," and six other persons

named, "with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not provided for in these Instructions, touching this service now in hand. And in all such matters so handled, argued, and debated, wee thinke that convenyent alwayes to be executed which you shall think meetest, with the assent also of any four of them, the matter having bene debated and so assented unto in the presence of your said assistants."

A D. 1682.

The sixth Instruction proceedes in the same peremptory style:—

"Item, you shall not remooove Capitaine William Hawkins, your lieutenant; Master-captaine Luke Ward, your vice-admiral, or capitaine of the *Edward Bonaventure*; nor Capitaine Carlile from his charge by land, whom we will not to refuse any such service as shall be appointed to him by the generall and the councill; nor any capitaine of other vessels from these charges, but upon just cause duely proved, and by consent of your assistants, or of four of them at the least."

From the appointment of a military officer, of course having soldiers under him, and in regard to whom it is added (Instruction 23), "in all occasions and enterprises that may fall out to bee upon the lande, wee will that Capitaine Carlile shall have the generall and chief charge thereof," it might be supposed that the government had undertaken the entire responsibility of the expedition. This impression is strengthened by Instruction 24, which shows that chaplains had been appointed by public authority. With reference to them, it is said:—

Instructions
partly
military,

"And to the end God may blesse this voyage with happie and prosperous successe; you shall have an especiall care to see that reverence and respect bee had to the ministers appointed to accompanie you in this voyage as appertaineth to their place and calling; and to see such good order as by them shall be set downe for reformation of life and manners duely obeyed and perfourmed, by causing the transgressours and contemners of the same to be severely punished; and the ministers to remove sometime from one vessell to another."

It is plain, however, from other Instructions, that the expedition partook of the character of a mercantile adventure. Thus it is said (Instruction 8):—

partly
mercantile

"You shall make a just and true inventorie, in every ship and vessell appointed for this voyage, of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them, at their setting forth hence, and of all the provisions whatsoever; and one copie thereof under your hand, and under the hands of your vice-admirall and lieutenant, to be delivered to the Earle of Leicester, and the other to the governour of the companie for them, before your departure hence; and the like to be done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the sayd ships and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what meanes any parcell of the same shall have bene spent or lost."

The mercantile character is still more fully brought out both by incidental mention of merchants and factors in various passages, and particularly in the following Instructions, in which equity, sound policy, and worldly prudence are so happily combined, that they seem not unworthy of being quoted entire:—

"12. Item, we do straightly enjoin you, and consequently all the rest employed in this voyage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your coming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarrying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoyle or take anything from any of the queen's majestie's friends or allies, or any Christians, without paying justly for the same; nor that you use any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set upon, or otherwise be forced for your owne safeguard to do it.

A. D. 1582.

Instructions
continued.

"13. Item, wee will that you deale altogether in this voyage like good and honest merchants, trafficking and exchanging ware for ware, with all courtesie, to the nations you shall deale with, as well Ethniks as others; and for that cause you shall instruct all those that shall goe with you, that whensoever you, or any of you, shall happen to come in any place to conference with the people of those parts, that in all your doings and theirs, you and they so behave yourselves towards the sayd people as may rather procure their friendship and good liking toward you by courtesie than to turne them to offence or misliking; and especially you shall have great care of the performance of your word and promise to them.

"14. Item, wee will, that by the advise of your assistants, in places where you and they shall thinke most fit, you settl, if you can, a beginning of a further trade to be had hereafter: and from such places doe bring over with you some fewe men and women if you may; and do also leave some one or two, or more, as to you and your assistants shall seem convenient, of our nation with them for pledges, and to learn the tongue and secrets of the countreys, having diligent care, that, in delivering and taking of hostages, you deliver not personages of more value then you receive, but rather deliver meane persons under colour of men of value, as the infidels do for the most part use. Provided that you stay not longer to make continuance of further trade, then shall be expedient for good exchange of the wares presently carried with you.

"15. Item, you shall have care, and give generall warning, that no person, of what calling soever hee be, shall take up or keepe to himself or his private use, any stone, pearle, golde, silver, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you shall come; but he, the said person, so seased of such stone, pearle, golde, silver, or other matter of commoditie, shall with all speede, or so soone as he can, detect the same, and make deliverie thereof to your selfe, or your vice-admirall, or lieutenant, and the factor appointed for this voyage, upon paine of forfeiture of all the recompense he is to have for his service in this voyage by share or otherwise; and further, to receive such punishment as to you and your assistants, or the more part of them, shall seeme good, and otherwise to be punished here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence it shall be thought needful.

"16. Item, if the capitaines, merchants, or any other, shall have any apparell, jewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatsoever, which may be desired in countreys where they shall traffique, that it shall not be lawfull for them, or any of them, to traffique or sell any thing thereof for their private accompt; but the same shall be prized by the most part of those that shall be in commission in the places where the same may be so required, rated at such value as it may bee reasonably worth in England; and then solde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in adventure for those to whom it doeth appertaine."

Interest
attaching to
the voyage.

This voyage, as the first in which a direct attempt was made by any European power to break up the Portuguese monopoly of navigation by the Cape of Good Hope, naturally excites a deep interest; and hence even the instructions to its commander, from the insight they give into the motives with which the voyage was undertaken, deserve all the space which has above been allotted to them. The voyage itself ought, of course, to have been still more interesting; but unfortunately the account of it written by Luke Ward, the vice-admiral, is meagre in the extreme, and does little more than establish the fact that it proved a complete failure. The good sense apparent in drawing up the instructions does not appear to have been employed in making the appointments; and the expedition had not proceeded far on its way when Fenton, who commanded it, appears to have betrayed, if not incompetency, at least indecision.

The four vessels, consisting of the *Beare*, which changed its name to the *Leicester*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the *Francis*, and the *Elizabeth*, sailed on the 1st of May, but spent a whole month before they finally quitted the English coast, and

launched out to sea. In the beginning of August, they reached the coast of Guinea; and then the commander, instead of deciding on his own responsibility as to the propriety of taking in water, deemed it necessary to summon a formal meeting of his assistants, or council, and submit two points for decision—first, whether they ought to water at all; and, secondly, assuming this was resolved upon, at what place? These points, it seems, occasioned long debates; and while all unanimously approved of watering, only a majority agreed in thinking that it ought to be at Sierra Leone. They accordingly proceeded for this locality, but had gone so far out of their reckoning that they were several days in finding it; and the council was again summoned to decide, after long debate, in what direction they ought to steer.

A.D. 1582.

Course of
proceedings

After leaving Sierra Leone, they appear to have acted as if they had thrown their instructions overboard; for they are afterwards found far south, on the coast of Brazil, not considering, in terms of their instructions, how they might best double the Cape of Good Hope, but debating on the expediency or inexpediency of passing the Straits of Magalhaens, though this was the direction which they had been expressly forbidden to take. It seems, however, that they would have taken it, had they not feared an encounter with the Spaniards. On this ground alone they abandoned the idea of prosecuting their voyage, and had determined to retrace their steps, when the vessels were obliged to part company. The *Bonaventure* was the only one which reached England; and this it did by sailing northwards to St. Vincent, and then across the Atlantic. The blundering manner in which the expedition had been conducted, may perhaps explain the silence which has been kept respecting it; and yet it undoubtedly entitles England to claim the high honour of having been the first European state which entered into competition with the Portuguese on their peculiar line of traffic, and sent a regular expedition for the purpose of trading with the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. The failure of the expedition was not owing to its projectors; and, however much it is to be lamented, cannot derogate from their merit in having both devised the expedition, and liberally furnished it with everything deemed necessary to insure its success.

Failure
of the
expedition.

Nine years passed away before any expedition intended to reach the East by the Cape quitted the shores of England. This apparent supineness, however, must be imputed, not to indifference to the object or despair of being able to accomplish it, but to political causes. Philip II. of Spain was engaged in fitting out his boasted Armada, and Queen Elizabeth, in her heroic efforts to defeat him, could not spare a single seaman; but no sooner was the battle of national independence fought and won, than the determination to establish a trade in the East was resumed. Accordingly, in October, 1589, the very year after the invincible Armada was discomfited, a body of English merchants presented a memorial to the lords in council, in which, after a rapid survey of the Portuguese settlements in the East, for the purpose of showing that, in the countries bordering on the Indian

Preparations
for another
voyage.

A. D. 1589.

and China seas, there were many ports in which a trade in English manufactures and Eastern produce might be advantageously established, they prayed for permission to fit out three ships and three pinnaces to be employed in this trade, with the queen's license and protection, and subject to no other condition than the payment of the usual customs on their return.

Petition to the queen.

Before presenting this petition, the memorialists had felt so confident of success that they had actually obtained, or at least bargained for, possession of the vessels which they meant to employ: these are hence mentioned in the memorial by their names as the *Royal Merchant*, the *Susan*, and the *Edward Bonaventure*. These names are of some consequence, as, in the absence of any direct information as to the answer given to the memorial by the lords of council, we are enabled to infer that it was favourable from the fact that, in April, 1591, less than eighteen months from the date of the application, three ships, of which two were the same as those named, sailed on this very voyage.

Sailing of a new expedition.

As in the former case the accounts are very imperfect, and do little more than prove that a second failure, though not so complete as before, was experienced. The leading ship, the *Penelope*, was commanded by George Raymond, the *Royal Merchant* by Abraham Kendal, and the *Edward Bonaventure* by James Lancaster. They sailed from Plymouth on the 10th of April, reached the Canaries by the 25th, were off Cape Blanco on the 2d of May, passed the tropic of Cancer on the 5th, and continued with a fair wind at north-east till the 13th, when they were within 8° of the equator. Here they encountered a gale which obliged them to lie off and on in the sea till the 6th of June, when they passed the line. They had previously captured a Portuguese caravel, bound from Lisbon to Brazil, and loaded chiefly with wine, oil, olives, and divers necessaries. These last are said to have proved better to them than gold, as many of the crew had previously fallen sick.

Its proceedings.

An E.S.E. wind prevailing, carried them far west till within 100 leagues of the coast of Brazil. They had reached 26° south latitude, when the wind, veering round to the north, enabled them to steer for the Cape of Good Hope, which they saw for the first time on the 28th of July. Being prevented by contrary winds from doubling it, they cast anchor on the 1st of August in Saldanha Bay. Here, as the number of hands had been reduced by death, and many, from having been attacked with scurvy, had become inefficient, it was deemed expedient to send back the *Royal Merchant* with the sick, and continue the voyage only with the *Penelope* and the *Edward*. On reaching Cape Corrientes, on the east coast of Africa, near the tropic of Capricorn, a hurricane arose, during which the vessels parted company. The *Penelope* was never afterwards heard of; but Lancaster, who continues the account, persevered in the voyage. After coasting northward, and losing a large part of his crew by an attack of the Moors, who came suddenly upon them while procuring water, they sailed directly for Cape Comorin,

where they meant to cruise with a view to intercept and capture the richly laden vessels from the Indian peninsula, Ceylon, Malacca, the Moluccas, and Japan. The south-west monsoon having set in, they found great difficulty in doubling the Cape, but at length succeeded in May, 1592. Six days after, they arrived at the Nicobar Islands; and then, after plying off and on the coast of Sumatra, proceeded to the coast of Malacca, where they determined to pass what Lancaster calls the winter, meaning thereby the rainy season. They were now reduced to thirty-three persons in all; but, towards the end of August, having espied three vessels, each of about seventy tons, they were bold enough to attack and capture the whole of them. Two of them they released because they were the property of merchants in Pegu; but the third, which they understood to belong "to certain Portuguese Jesuits, and a biscuit-baker of the same nation," was considered lawful prize. Its cargo of pepper was transferred to the *Edward*.



CAPE COMORIN, from near Calcut — From Daniell's Views in India.

They next sailed for the Straits of Malacca, still bent on privateering, and made two important captures, the one a Portuguese ship of 250 tons, laden with rice from Negapatam to Malacca, and the other a Malacca ship of 700 tons, that came from Goa. The latter carried fifteen brass cannon, and had on board 300 men, women, and children, but made scarcely any defence against Lancaster's mere handful. She was laden chiefly with wine and European goods, but had no treasure; and thus proving not so rich a prize as was anticipated, was sent adrift after the choicest goods had been taken out. The alarm of their presence being now spread, they deemed it dangerous to remain longer in this locality, and returned to the Nicobar Islands.

On the 21st of November they departed for the island of Ceylon, and, anchoring at the Point de Galle, waited in the hope of intercepting the Portuguese fleets from Bengal, Pegu, and Tenasserim. Owing, doubtless, to the irregular and predatory life which the crew had for some time been leading, a mutinous spirit began to appear; and advantage was taken of Lancaster's sickness to announce their determination that they would stay no longer, but take their direct course for England. There was no means of preventing them from doing as they pleased; and the vessel having weighed anchor, set sail homewards, returning as it had come by the Cape of Good Hope. Here the weather

Predatory proceedings

Voyage homeward

A.D. 1594. was so stormy that four weeks were spent in doubling the Cape. In April they arrived at St. Helena. On leaving it they were carried westward to the coast of Brazil, and kept wandering for a time under great hardships, first in the Gulf of Paria, and afterward among the West India Islands. The crew, having thrown off all subordination, did as they pleased. At last, on the 15th of November, 1593, while the captain and sixteen of the crew were ashore searching for provisions, the carpenter cut the ship's cable, and she drifted away with only five men and a boy in her. Lancaster and his people separated into parties, as the only means of obtaining even a scanty sustenance. Ultimately, he and six others got off in a French vessel, which took them to St. Domingo. Here, leaving the rest to follow, he embarked with his lieutenant in another French vessel for Dieppe. Having reached it in safety, he crossed over to Rye, where he landed, 24th May, 1594. He had been absent three years and six weeks.

Expedition
under
Houtmann.

The Dutch, though they did not attempt the passage by the Cape of Good Hope so early as the English, appear to have been more careful in preparing for it, and were accordingly rewarded with more abundant success. Their first voyage, undertaken by a number of merchants, who had assumed the name of the Company for Distant Countries, sailed from the Texel on the 2d of April, 1595. The expedition consisted of four vessels—the *Maurice*, of 400 tons, carrying twenty cannon and eighty-four men; the *Holland*, nearly of the same size and strength as the *Maurice*; the *Amsterdam*, of about 200 tons, carrying sixteen cannon and fifty-nine men; and a pinnace, of about 30 tons, carrying eight cannon and twenty men. The command of the vessels was given to captains of high naval reputation; but the general commercial superintendence was intrusted to Cornelius Houtmann, at whose suggestion, and on whose information, the voyage is said to have been undertaken. He had spent some time in Lisbon acquainting himself with the nature of the Portuguese traffic to the East; and, in the course of his inquiries, had incurred the suspicion of the Portuguese government, who imposed a heavy fine upon him, and imprisoned him till it should be paid. He had no means of doing so; but, having managed to communicate with some merchants of Amsterdam, induced them to pay the fine and obtain his release, in consideration of the valuable information which he would be able to communicate.

Its pro-
ceedings

On the 19th of April, the four vessels reached the Canaries, and on the 14th of June they crossed the line. They had previously fallen in with several Portuguese vessels, which they might have taken as lawful prizes; but, with a moderation in which much good policy was combined, they met and parted like friends. They now began to long anxiously for land, as the crews were suffering much by scurvy, and reached it on the 4th of August. They had passed the Cape of Good Hope without seeing it, and had anchored in a bay called the Aguada de San Bras, situated about forty-five leagues beyond it. After some intercourse with the natives, they continued their voyage on the

11th of August, but were again obliged, by the ravages of scurvy, to seek refreshments on the coast of Madagascar. They had some difficulty in obtaining them; and, in the meantime, were so reduced by sickness, that they could scarcely muster twenty men fit for service, while they had actually lost seventy. Having somewhat recovered by means of the fruit and fresh provisions which they obtained ashore, they again set sail on the 14th of December; and, after various adventures not possessed of much interest, directed their course towards the southern islands of the Maldivé group. They were thus carried beyond the Indian peninsula, and first saw land on the 1st of June, 1596. They were off the coast of Sumatra. Continuing southwards, they arrived, on the 11th, at the entrance of the Straits of Sunda, and proceeding through them, much impeded by contrary winds and currents, arrived at Bantam, on the north-west extremity of Java.

A. D. 1596.

Houtmann
reaches
MadagascarPORTUGUESE RESIDENTS AT BANTAM.¹Arrival at
Bantam.

On their arrival they were visited by six Portuguese, with their slaves, who assumed the character of deputies, sent by the governor and people of Bantam to ascertain the object of their visit. The previous navigators from England, particularly Cavendish and Lancaster, had spread great alarm; but the Dutch endeavoured to dissipate all fear, by declaring that commerce was their only object. Under this impression a friendly intercourse commenced, and a full cargo of pepper, at a very

moderate rate, might easily have been obtained; but Houtmann, determined to do everything at the cheapest, was induced to wait for the new crop, which was represented to him as so very abundant, that it would be obtained at almost nominal prices. This injudicious delay gave the Portuguese time to prepare a series of intrigues, by means of which

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BANTAM.¹

the good understanding with the natives was on the point of being broken up.

¹ From *Histoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandais*, par G. in A. W. L., Amst. 1679.

A.D. 1596. Ultimately, however, a treaty, offensive and defensive, was formed with the natives, though sufficient evidence was given, that whatever friendship the Portuguese might pretend, nothing but enmity in every form, secret or open, was to be expected from them. The immediate consequence of the treaty was the establishment of a Dutch factory at Bantam.

Houtmann's
injudicious
conduct.

Houtmann, still continuing to wait for the anticipated reduction in the price of pepper, began to dispose of his merchandise, to be paid for in pepper, at the price which it should bear when the new crop should be delivered. On these terms he found ready purchasers in the governor and several of the other officials of the town. Meanwhile, the Portuguese continued their intrigues, and very plausibly maintained, that the irrational course which Houtmann was pursuing, could only be accounted for by assuming that commerce was only a pretext, and that his real object was to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the locality, with the view of afterwards returning and taking forcible possession of it. The effect of these insinuations soon became apparent. A pilot, who had all along manifested great friendship for the Dutch, was barbarously assassinated, and the pepper due on the purchases which had been made was not delivered. The Dutch, after uttering vain complaints, had recourse to menaces. These were not lost upon the inhabitants, who immediately took all possible precautions. All the Java vessels in the harbour cut their cables, and ran ashore. At the same time, the Dutch were startled by the alarming intelligence that a large fleet, destined to act against them, was being prepared in a neighbouring harbour.

Houtmann
made pri-
soner.

Houtmann, though thus put upon his guard, had the rashness to go ashore with only seven attendants, and pay a visit to the governor. The result which might have been foreseen immediately followed; and the whole party, as soon as they entered the palace, were arrested. The Dutch immediately attempted reprisals, by seizing the governor's interpreter and a number of his slaves. Houtmann's position was now precarious in the extreme; and he only saved himself from the death with which he was threatened, by sending a letter to the fleet, ordering the interpreter to be delivered up. Five of his companions were accordingly released, and an appearance of trade was resumed, though he himself still remained in captivity.

Threatened
retaliation.

It was impossible that matters could long remain in this position; and it was therefore formally resolved, at a council held on board the *Maurice*, to intimate to the governor, that if the captain, Houtmann, and all his people, with everything belonging to them, were not delivered on the following day, the utmost force which they possessed would forthwith be employed to obtain redress. No answer having been returned by mid-day, the four vessels drew near the town, and anchored in three fathoms. On the first news of this proceeding, the governor, in a rage, ordered the arrest of every Dutchman in the factory. They were all carried off, Houtmann along with them, to the place

of public execution; and nothing but excruciating deaths were looked for, when the governor, who had begun to calculate the consequences, recoiled from them, and proposed negotiation.

It was so spun out that the Dutch once more lost patience and commenced hostilities, in which their superiority soon became so apparent, that the governor saw the necessity of yielding. Many delays were still interposed, but ultimately an arrangement was come to, by which the Dutch

agreed to pay a considerable sum of money for the damage they had caused, and Houtmann and his companions regained their freedom.

Friendship seemed about to be re-established, when a Portuguese deputy arrived from Malacca with a large present to the governor, and the promise of one still more valuable, provided he would shut the port against all commerce with the Dutch. The bribe was too tempting to be resisted; and an order was issued by the governor which left no doubt as to his hostile intentions. Houtmann, convinced that negotiation was now useless, hastened to remove with all his people and their effects. Immediately after, it was decided by a council held on board the *Maurice*, to give full scope to their resentment and take a signal revenge. Second thoughts proved better, and reflecting that nothing could be gained, and much might be lost by the indiscriminate carnage which they had contemplated, they weighed anchor, and proceeded eastward along the coast of Java. After a fearful encounter with the natives, in which many lives were lost on both sides, and all hopes of establishing a friendly intercourse were destroyed, the vessels quitted the north-west coast, and sailed north to the isle of Lubok, which they reached on the 9th of December. They now changed their course to west, but, on the 25th, after they had beaten about, obstructed by contrary winds and currents, they were astonished to find themselves still within sight of the island. Here, as they had only ninety-four men remaining, many of them unfit for service, it was resolved to abandon the *Amsterdam*, which had become so leaky that she could with difficulty be kept afloat.

On the 12th of January, 1597, anchor was again weighed, and the vessels proceeded for the eastern extremity of Java. On the 18th they came in sight of an active volcano, and, a few days after, entered the strait which separates Java from Bali. After some friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of the latter island, they turned their face homewards on the 26th of February, and



GOVERNOR OF BANTAM AND ATTENDANTS.—*Histoire de la Navigation, &c*

Houtmann's
subsequent
proceedings

Return of
the Dutch
expedition

A D. 1598. began to steer for the Cape of Good Hope. Their vessels, as already mentioned, had been reduced to three; and of the 249 men who had quitted Holland, only eighty-nine now survived. Besides these, however, they had with them two negroes taken up on the coast of Madagascar, a Chinese, two Malabars, a native of Java, and a pilot, who was said to be originally from Gujerat, and had volunteered to make the voyage to Europe. Sailing by the south of Java, the coast of Natal was reached on the 24th of April, St. Helena on the 25th of May, the island of Ascension on the 2d of June, the Azores on the 12th of July, the English Channel on the 5th, and the port of Amsterdam on the 14th of August.

Results of
Houtmann's
voyage.

Though the results of Houtmann's voyage were by no means brilliant, his arrival was hailed with loud acclamations. He had successfully performed a voyage in which the English had twice failed, and made it plain that, with due circumspection, a direct and lucrative trade with the East, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, might easily be established. The Portuguese would doubtless throw every possible obstacle in the way; but their power of mischief was greatly abridged by the loss of their independence, and more was to be hoped from the victories which might be gained over them, than feared from the injuries which they might be able to inflict. The native powers, too, had evidently no love for the Portuguese, of whose tyranny and bigotry they had too good reason to complain, and were disposed to form friendly connections with any foreigners by whom the Portuguese supremacy might be undermined or finally overthrown. Even the returns by Houtmann's voyage, though obtained under the most unfavourable circumstances, nearly covered the expense; and there was therefore every reason to hope, that in proportion as the navigation and the nature of the trade came to be better understood, great profits would be regularly realized.

New expe-
ditions.

Influenced by these and similar considerations, Houtmann's return was no sooner announced than all the principal ports of Holland were eager to share in the new Indian traffic; and various companies, having that object in view, were formed. As before, the Company for Distant Countries, which had sent out Houtmann, took the lead, and made all haste to fit out four ships. Other four were fitted out by a rival company. The leading merchants in both, afraid of the injury which they might inflict on each other, by appearing in the Indian market as competitors, proposed and effected an amalgamation. The eight vessels thus fitted out at the expense of private individuals, but provided with cannon by the government, sailed in 1598. Four of them made a voyage remarkable for its rapidity at that early period, and in the course of fifteen months returned from Bantam with a valuable cargo of pepper; the other four occupied more time, but appear to have turned it to good account; and after visiting Amboyna, Banda, and Ternate, came home laden with rich spices, which yielded an immense profit. During another voyage, fitted out by Middel-

burg merchants, also in 1598, Houtmann, who had been intrusted with the command, was again unfortunate, and lost his life by an act of gross treachery on the part of the King of Achéen, in the island of Sumatra.

The Dutch East India trade might now be considered as fairly established. It had originated in private enterprise, and had the times been peaceful, might have been successfully carried on by the same means; but the Spaniards and Portuguese having left no doubt of their determination to cling to their monopoly at all hazards, it became necessary for the Dutch to provide themselves with the means of repelling force by force. At first the States-general contented themselves with granting the necessary authority for this purpose; but it soon appeared that separate companies, pursuing different, and it might be also adverse interests, could not well co-operate in repelling a common foe. In these circumstances, two courses lay open to the government. It might adhere to the system generally followed in Europe, and, while permitting individuals or associations full freedom of trade in every region of the East, provide for their protection against foreign enemies by stationing ships of war in every quarter where danger was apprehended; or it might, by uniting all private associations into one great and exclusive company, enable it to acquire sufficient strength not only to maintain its ground against all who might assail it, but even to become in its turn the aggressor and make new conquests. The latter was the plan adopted; and on the 20th of March, 1602, a general charter was granted, incorporating the different companies into one great association, and conferring upon it the exclusive privilege of trade to the East. The plan, whatever be its merits or demerits, was not original, for the model had been furnished fifteen months before in a charter granted with a similar object by the crown of England. To this charter, and the preparatory measures taken to procure it, we must now turn.

If those who took the lead in the expeditions of Fenton and Lancaster had been deterred by their failure from persevering in the attempt to establish a direct trade with India, they must have been ashamed of their pusillanimity when they became acquainted with the success of the Dutch; and at all events must have felt the necessity of immediately bestirring themselves if they were not prepared to allow a rival nation to forestall them in what was then universally, though not very accurately, regarded as the most lucrative market in the world. The proceedings thus originated must be reserved for the next chapter.

A. D. 1602

Progress of
the Dutch
East India
trade.

First charter
of the Dutch
East India
Company.

CHAPTER X.

Association of merchant adventurers for a voyage to the East—Their proceedings—Their memorial—
The first English East India charter.



IN September, 1599, doubtless after many preliminary conferences, an association of merchant adventurers was formed in London for the purpose of prosecuting a voyage to the East Indies. At first, though a permanent company was evidently contemplated, only a single voyage was proposed. Accordingly, their contract simply purports to be "The names of suche persons as have written with there owne handes, to venter in the pretended voiage to the Easte Indias (the whiche it maie please the Lorde to prosper) and the somes that they will adventure, the xxij September, 1599." The aggregate sum amounted to £30,133, 6s. 8d., and represented 101 adventures or shares, varying in amount from £100 to £3000.

A D. 1599.

Association
of merchant
adventurers

Petition to
the queen.

At the first general meeting, held two days after the date of the contract, it was resolved to petition the queen for her royal assent to a project "intended for the honour of their native country and the advancement of trade and merchandize within the realm of England; and to set forth a voyage to the East Indies and other islands and countries thereabouts." On the following day, when the fifteen committee men, or directors, to whom the management had been intrusted, held their first meeting, the petition was read and approved. After stating that "divers merchants, induced by the successe of the viage performed by the Duche nacion, and being informed that the Dutchemen prepare for a new viage, and to that ende have bought divers ships here, in Englande, were stirred with noe lesse affection to advaunce the trade of their native countrie, than the Duche merchaunts were to benefite theire common-wealth, and upon that affection have resolved to make a viage to the East Indias," they pray to be incorporated into a company, "for that the trade of the Indies being so remote could not be traded on but on a jointe and united stocke." They also prayed to be permitted to export foreign coin, or, in the event of a deficiency, to have bullion coined for them at the queen's mint; and, lastly, to be exempted for several years, as the Dutch merchants were, from payment of export or import duties.

Voyage to
the East
approved

On the 16th of October, the queen having signified her approbation of the voyage, the committee were exerting themselves to obtain permission for the vessels to proceed on their voyage without further delay, when an insurmountable obstacle arose from an unexpected quarter. Spain had suffered so much during her late wars that she began to feel the necessity of peace. Philip II.,

too, whose bigotry and ambition were the great obstacles to it, had been called to his account; and negotiations were commenced under circumstances which promised a favourable result. Were anything wanting to prove that England was sincere in the matter, it might be found in the retrograde step which government took in regard to the projected voyage to India. Its approbation had been formally declared; and yet, under the impression that the voyage might give umbrage to Spain, that approbation was expressly withdrawn. The committee of adventurers, fearing such a result, presented a long and elaborate memorial, in which they endeavoured to show, by a careful statement of all the localities in which the Spaniards could, with any show of reason, claim an exclusive right of trade, that the projected voyage would be so conducted as not to interfere in the least with the progress of the pending negotiations; but the lords of council answered that "it was more beneficial for the generall state of merchandize to entertayne a peace, then that the same should be hindred by the standing with the Spanische commissioners, for the mayntayning of this trade, to foregoe the oportunety of the concluding of the peace." To this answer no effectual reply could be made; and the adventurers, "fearing lest, after they were drawn into a charg, they shuld be required to desist their viage, did proceede noe further in the matter for this yere, but did enter into the preparation of a viage the next yere followinge."

A D. 1599.

Approval
withdrawn.

The memorial above referred to, furnishing an excellent summary of the grounds on which the adventurers claimed and ultimately obtained permission to establish an East Indian trade, possesses, independent of its interest as an historical document, intrinsic merits which justify a very liberal quotation. It is entitled, "Certayne Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdoms and dominions as are not subiecte to the King of Spayne and Portugal; together with the true limits of the Portugals' conquest and jurisdiction in those Oriental parts;" and proceeds as follows:—

Memorial of
English
merchants
to the privy
council.

"Whereas, right honorable, upon a treatie of peace betweene the crownes of England and Spayne like to ensue, that is not to be doubted, but that greate exception will bee taken agaynst the intended voyage of her majestie's subjects into the East Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança; therefore the adventurers in the sayd intended voyage most humbly crave, at your honors' hands, to take perfecte knowledge of these fewe considerations underwritten.

"First, they desire that it wold please your honors to urge the commissioners of the Spanishe peace to put downe under their hands, the names of all such islands, cities, townes, places, castels, and fortresses, as they are actually, at this present, possessed of, from the sayd Cape of Buena Sperança, along the coast of Africa, on the coast of Arabia, in the East Indies, the Malucos, and other Oriental parts of the world: which, if they may bee drawne truly and faythfully to put downe, so that wee cannot be able, manifestly, to prove the contrarie, then wil wee be content, in noe sort, to disturbe nor molest them, whersoever they are already commanders and in actual authoritie.

"Secondly, if they wil not, by any meanes, bee drawne to this themselves, then wee, for your lordshippes' perfect instruction in this behalfe, wil take the paynes to doe it for them. That may please your honors, therefore, to understand, that these bee al the islands, cities,

A. D. 1599. townes, places, castles and fortresses, whereof they be, at this present, actual commanders, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, eastward."

After a list of Spanish and Portuguese possessions, arranged according to their positions "On the Coste of Africa," "In the Mouth of the Persian Golfe," and "From the Persian Golfe along the Coste of India, southward," the memorial proceeds:—

Memorial —
considera-
tion third.

"Thirdly, All the places which are under their governement and commaund being thus exactly and truly put downe, and wee being able to avouch it to be so, by many evident and invincible proofes, and some eye-witnesses, if need require: that there remaineth that all the rest rich kingdoms and islands of the East, which are in number very many, are out of their power and jurisdiction, and free for any other princes or people of the world to repayre unto, whome the sovereigne lords and governors of those territoria wil bee willing to admitte into their dominions:—a chiefe parte whereof are these here ensuinge." Here follows a catalogue under the title of "The names of the chiefe knowne islands and kingdoms beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, wholy out of the dominion of the Portugalls and Spaniards, in the east, south-east, and north-east parts of the world."

Catalogue of
chief known
islands in
the East.

As this catalogue furnishes, in the very terms employed, a vivid idea of the brilliant results anticipated from the establishment of an East India trade, it is here subjoined verbatim:—

"The Isle of Madagascar, or San Lorenzo, upon the backside of Africa—The kingdoms of Orixá, Bengala, and Aracan, on the Gulfe of Bengala—The rich and mightie kingdome of Pegu—The kingdome of Juncalaon—The kingdome of Siam—The kingdome of Camboia—The kingdome of Cauchinchina—The most mighty and welthy empire of China—The rich and goulden island of Sumatra—The whole islands of Java Major, Java Minor, and Baly—The large and rich islands of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and Os Papuas—The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon—The rich and innumerable islands of Malucos and the Spicerie, except the two small isles of Tidore and Amboyno, where the Portugals have only two smal forts—The large islands of Mindinas and Calamines—The goulden islands of the greate and smal Lequeos—The manifold and populos sylver islands of the Japonos—The country of Coray newly discovered to the north-east."

Immediately after this catalogue, the memorial reiterates the statement that "in all these, and infinite places more, abounding with greate welthe and riches, the Portugales and Spaniards have not any castle, forte, blockehouse, or commaundement," and appeals in proof of it to numerous authorities, consisting of "Portugalle authors printed and written," "Spanish authors printed in Spayne," "Italiens," "Englishmen," and "Hollanders." The last two, which alone now possess much interest, include under the former head—"Sir Francis Drak's men yet living, and his own writing printed," "Mr. Thomas Candishe's Companye, yet living, and his writings printed," "Mr. Ralph Fitch's Travayles through most of the Portugal Indies, in print," and "Mr. James Lancaster's and his Companye's voyage as farre as Malacca, printed;" and under the latter head—"John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived above seven yeres in India," "The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java and Baly, in print," "The second voyage to Java, in Dutch and English," "The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them in the sayd voyage," and "The third returne of the Hollanders from the East Indies this yere." After this array

Authorities

of authorities, the memorialists, confident that they had triumphantly established their case, continue thus:—

“Fourthly, let these shewe any juste and lawefull reasons, voyd of affection and partialitie, why they should tarre her majestie, and al other Christian princes and states, of the use of the vaste, wyde, and infinitely open ocean sea, and of access to the territories and dominions of so many free princes, kings, and potentates in the East, in whose dominions they have noe more sovereign commaund or authoritie, then wee, or any Christians whosoever.”

The point thus argued could not be rationally contested, and yet it was quite clear that the Spaniards would not consent to yield it. They claimed in virtue of a Papal grant, which had arrogantly bestowed upon them exclusive right to all new lands which might be discovered either in the East or West; and hence, until this claim was set aside, or voluntarily relinquished, the memorialists, in so far as the question lay between them and such claimants, were doing little better than beating the air when they argued that every locality not actually occupied by the Spaniards and Portuguese was open to all the world. To every such argument of the memorialists, their opponents were always ready to answer, “We claim not merely what we occupy, but the whole that we have discovered, or may yet be discovered in those regions.” A claim so extravagant could not be acquiesced in by any Protestant government; but Queen Elizabeth, though she had doubtless determined that the maritime enterprise of her subjects should have full scope in the East, dealt with the memorial in the cautious spirit in which she usually acted, and before deciding, caused a report to be made upon it by the celebrated Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke. In this report, which was made to Sir Francis Walsingham, who had requested “the names of such kings as are absolute in the East, and either have warr or traffique with the Kinge of Spaine,” Greville enters very fully into detail, commencing rather superfluously on the coast of Barbary, and proceeding first south to the Cape of Good Hope, and then north to the mouth of the Red Sea. It is here only that his report begins to bear properly upon our subject. Though he acknowledges it to be merely a compilation from two or three authors, “having neither meanes nor tyme to seak other helpes,” it is well entitled, notwithstanding several geographical blunders, to more than a passing notice. After tracing the east African coast as far as the Cape of Gardafuy, he thus proceeds:—

“At the said cape the Portugalls yeerly lye in wayte for the Turkish shippes, which adventure to traffique without their licence, houldinge themselves the only commaunders of these seas. From the cape to the mouth of the Red Sea are also many small dominions of white Mahometans, rich in gould, sylver, ivory, and all kynd of victuals: and behind thes cuntries, in the mayne, lyeth the great empire of Prester John, to whom the Portugalls (as some write) doe yeerly send eight shippes, laden with all kynde of merchandise, and also furnish themselves with many sayllers out of his coast townes in the Red Sea. In the bottom of this sea, at a place called Sues, the Turckes build gallies which scoure all that coast, as far as Melinde, and everie yeere annoy the Portugalls exceedinge much. Beyond the Red Sea, Arabia Felix is governed by manie sultans of greate and absolute power, both by sea and land; upon the pointe thereof standeth the riche and stronge cittie Aden, wher both In-

Extravagant
claims
of the
Spaniards

Report by
Fulke
Greville.

A.D. 1599. diaus, Persians, Ethiopians, Turkes, and Portugals, have exceedinge greate traffique. Beyond the Gulf of Persia that kinge possesseth all the coast, and hath great traffique with the Portugals, with pearles, carpetts, and other rich commodities. The ile of Ormus lyeth in the mouth of this gulf, and is subject to the Persians, but so that the Portugals hath a forte in it, and ther is the staple of al India, Arabia, Persia, and Turkie, whither Christian merchants do also resort, from Aleppo and Tripolis, twyse in the year."

Report by
Fulke
Greville.

Continuing eastward he arrives at India, of which he says:—

"Beyond the Persian lieth the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the fruitfulest of all India, and hath exceedinge greate traffique: the Portugals possesse ther the towne of Dieu, scituate in an iland in the mouth of the Indus, wher he hath great trade with the Cambaians, and all other nations in these partes. Next is the cuntry of the Malabars, who are the best souldiers of India, and greatest enemies of the Portugals: it was once an entyer emper, now divided into many kingdoms; part is subject to the Queen of Baticola, who selleth great store of pepper to the Portugals, at a towne called Onor, which they hould in her state: the rest of Malabar is divided into fyve kingdoms, Cochin, Chananor, Choule, Coulon, and Calechut; the last was the greatest, but, by the assistance of the Portugals, Cochin hath now prevailed above him. Beyond the Malabars is the kingdome of Narsinga, wher the Portugals also traffique: then the kingdom of Orixen and Bengalen by the ryver Ganges, as also of Aracan, Pegu, Tanassaria and Queda."

The latter part of the report is less carefully drawn up, and commits the egregious blunder of confounding Taprobana, or Ceylon, with Sumatra. It continues thus:—

"The iland of Sumatra or Taprobana is possessed by many kinges, enemies to the Portugals; the cheif is the King of Dachein, who besieged them in Malacca, and with his gallies stopped the passage of victuals and traffique from China, Japan, and Molucco, till, by a mayne flete, the coast was cleared. The Kinge of Spaigne, in regarde of the importance of this passage, hath often resolved to conquer Sumatra, but nothing is done. The Kinges of Acheyn and Tor are, in lyke sorte, enemies to the Portugals. The Philippinas belonged to the crowne of China, but, abandoned by him, were possessed by the Spaniards, who have traffique ther with the merchants of China, which yearly bring to them above twenty shippes, laden with all manner of wares, which they carry into New Spaine and Mexico. They traffique also with the Chinois at Mackau, and Japan. And, lastlie, at Goa, there is great resort of all nations, from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambaia, Bengala, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, Molucca, and China, and the Portugals suffer them all to lyve ther, after their owne manners and religions; only for matter of justice they are ruled by the Portugall law. In the yeere 1584, many ambassadors came to Goa from Persia, Cambaia, and the Malabars, and concluded peace with the Portugals; 1586, the Arabians slew above 800 Portugals."

English pro-
parations
for an east-
ern voyage.

This report is dated the 10th of March, in the year 1599, according to the old, but 1600 according to the present mode of reckoning, and must have had a favourable effect, as the queen's approbation of the projected voyage was shortly after signified; and a general meeting of the adventurers was held at Founders' Hall, on the 23d of September, when it was resolved "that they would goe forwards with the voiage." The management was intrusted to seventeen directors, or, as they were then called, committees, who met for the first time on the very same day, and two days after made a purchase of the ship *Susan* for the sum of £1600. The economical spirit in which the purchase was made appears in a stipulation by which the sellers agreed to take her back at half-price on her return. The next day (26th) the purchase of two other ships, the *Hector* and *Ascension*, was agreed to; and a call was made upon the subscribers for

payment of a third of the whole stock on or before the 30th. On this day a draft of the patent of privileges, or charter, to be submitted to the crown, was read and approved. It had been prepared by a Mr. Altham, who received a fee of £4. A D. 1600.

In the course of these preparations, the directors were somewhat startled by an application from the Lord-treasurer Burleigh, recommending the employment of Sir Edward Michelborne in the voyage. The ground of the application is not stated, but various circumstances lead to the conclusion that the possession of court favour was Sir Edward's highest qualification. The directors were only petitioning for their charter, and must have been perfectly aware of the risk they ran in refusing to comply with the wishes of such a statesman as Lord Burleigh. It says much both for their firmness and their prudence, that they managed to place their objection to his lordship's nominee not on personal but on public grounds, declaring their resolution "not to employ any gentleman in any place of charge," and requesting "that they might be allowed to sort their business with men of their own quality, lest the suspicion of the employment of gentlemen being taken hold upon by the generalitie, do dryve a great number of the adventurers to withdraw their contributions." Spirited conduct of the directors.

Were the words *gentleman* and *gentlemen* here employed in the sense which is now usually attached to them, the answer would not only afford what Mr. Mill thinks he finds in it, "a curious specimen of the mode of thinking of the times," but indicate a narrowness and illiberality of mind sufficient to prove that the directors were unworthy of the honourable office with which they had been intrusted. It is impossible to believe, that in laying the foundations of a company in which one of the leading objects contemplated was, to use their own expression, "the honor of their native cuntry," they intended to lay it down as a general and inflexible rule, that a man, however well qualified he might be in other respects—however skilful as a seaman—however expert as an accountant—however shrewd and experienced as a merchant—was to be deemed unfit for employment "in any place of charge," if he happened to have been born of a good family, and to possess the manners and accomplishments which entitled him to move in the first circles of society. However strange the language may sound, its meaning evidently went no further than this, that in making their appointments the directors would be guided solely by professional ability, and were determined to have nothing to do with those who, pluming themselves on being gentlemen and nothing more, would only draw the profit, without performing the duties of any office to which they might be appointed. Qualification for employment under them

Though the charter was not yet granted, the directors, having now no doubt of obtaining it, proceeded with their arrangements. The purchase of three vessels has already been mentioned. On the 5th of October, a fourth, called the *Malice Scourge*, and double the size of any of the others, was purchased from Arrangements for first voyage.

A.D. 1600. the Earl of Cumberland, after some higgling, for £3700. To these purchases that of a pinnace was added; and the whole expedition, as then projected, stood thus:—The *Malice Scourge*, whose name was subsequently changed to that of the *Red Dragon*, 200 men, 600 tons; the *Hector*, 100 men, 300 tons; the *Ascension*, 80 men, 260 tons; the *Susan*, 80 men, 240 tons; and a pinnace, 40 men, 100 tons—in all, 500 men and 1500 tons. The investment, consisting of iron (wrought and unwrought), tin, lead, 80 pieces of broadcloths of all colours, 80 pieces of Devonshire kerseys, and 100 pieces of Norwich stuffs, with smaller articles chiefly for presents, was computed at £4545; and the provisions for a twenty months' voyage at £6600, 4s. 10d. The remainder of the original subscription of £30,133, 6s. 8d., under deduction of the purchase and equipment of the vessels and other payments, was to be taken out in bullion. These calculations could only be considered conjectural, and afterwards, as will be seen, underwent considerable modifications.

General
meeting of
adventur-
ers.

On the 30th of October, the same day on which the charter was sent to the attorney-general for his opinion, a general meeting of the adventurers was held, and the important resolution was adopted of increasing the number of directors from fifteen to twenty-four. That number was accordingly elected, and their names, along with that of Alderman Thomas Smith, who had the honour of being the first governor appointed, were ordered to be inserted in the anticipated charter. Another resolution was that each adventurer should pay up his subscription. On this subject Bruce, whose *Annals of the East India Company* furnish the only printed information, makes statements which are very obscure, and apparently irreconcilable. In one passage (vol. i. p. 130) he says, "It is remarkable that these payments were made by the whole of the adventurers, with the exception of four only, who withdrew their subscriptions." Immediately after he speaks of "the funds of the society being thus provided for;" and yet he afterwards quotes from the minutes of another meeting of the adventurers, "summoned on the 8th of December, to make up the fund with which the voyage was to be fitted out," and at which "it was agreed that the whole of the sum subscribed by the adventurers should be paid in by the 13th of that month; and declared, as the ships were now ready to proceed to sea, that such of the subscribers as should not, at the preceding date, have paid in their proportions, should be held to be liable for any losses that might happen in consequence of the stipulated subscription not having been made good by them." These statements cannot easily be reconciled. If all the original subscriptions, with the exception of four only, were paid up, how could it be necessary to hold out a general menace threatening all defaulters with actions of damages? The most probable explanation is, that after the original list of 101 subscriptions was completed, other parties had been tempted, by the near prospect of obtaining a charter on advantageous terms, to come forward and put down their names. It is almost certain that something of this

Subscrip-
tions paid
up.

kind must have been done, since the number of persons actually incorporated by the charter is not confined to those of the original list, but amounts in all to 218.

A. D. 1600.

Among other arrangements made previous to the date of the charter, may be mentioned the appointments of Captain James Lancaster to the *Red Dragon*, with the title of general or admiral of the fleet, and of Captain John Davis to the second command, with the title of pilot major. Both of these officers had previously made the voyage: the one under Captain Raymond, in the unfortunate expedition which has already been described; and the other in 1598, as a pilot, in the employment of the Dutch. The terms of agreement with the former are not mentioned; but those with the latter deserve notice, in furnishing a good idea of the spirit in which the voyage was undertaken, and of the hopes entertained as to its success. The terms were £100 wages, £200 on credit as an adventure, and a commission on the profit, rated alternatively at £500, £1000, £1500, or £2000, according as the clear returns on the capital should yield two for one, three for one, four for one, or five for one. The leading object in this arrangement was to give Captain Davis a personal interest in the success of the voyage. The same object was kept steadily in view in arranging with all other parties. Thus the factors or supercargoes, thirty-six in number, were arranged in four different classes: of which the first received £100 wages, and £200 advanced as an adventure; the second £50 wages, and £100 adventure; the third £30 wages, and £50 adventure; and the fourth £20 wages, and £40 adventure. Even the common seamen were treated on the same principle, and received four months' pay, of which the half only was paid as wages, while the other half was advanced as an adventure.

Appoint-
ment of
officers to
the expedi-
tion.

The charter was granted on the last day of the sixteenth century, 31st December, 1600. Like all deeds of the same kind, it is spun out to such a length by verbiage and vain tautology, as to occupy twenty-six pages of a printed quarto volume. It is, of course, impossible to give it at length. Fortunately it is also unnecessary, as everything of importance in it may be compressed within comparatively narrow limits.

Charter
granted

Proceeding in the queen's name in the form of letters-patent, addressed "to all our officers, ministers, and subjects, and to all other people, as well within this our realm of *England* as elsewhere," it begins with stating that "Our most dear and loving cousin, George, Earl of Cumberland, and our well-beloved subjects, Sir John Hart, of London, knight, Sir John Spencer, of London, knight, Sir Edward Michelborne, knight, William Cavendish, esquire," nine aldermen of London, and other individuals specially named, amounting in all to 218, have "been petitioners unto us for our royal assent and licence," that they, "at their own adventures, costs, and charges, as well as for the honour of our realm of *England*, as for the increase of our navigation, and advancement of trade of merchandize, within our said realm, and the dominions of the same, might adven-

Its form
and object.

A.D. 1600. ture and set forth one or more voyages, with convenient number of ships and pinnaces, by way of traffic and merchandize to the *East Indies*, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places, thereabouts, as where trade and traffick may by all likelihood be discovered, established, or had; divers of which countries, and many of the

islands, cities, and ports thereof, have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandize."



GEORGE, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.—Lodge's Portraits.

Indies," empowering them and their successors, in that name and capacity, to possess or dispose of land, tenements, and hereditaments, to have a common seal, to sue and be sued; and, in general "to do and execute all and singular other things by the same name," as fully and freely as "any other our liege people."

Mode of management

The charter then goes on to prescribe the mode of management of the affairs of the company, fixing it in a governor, and twenty-four other members called committees, who are to have "the direction of the voyages of or for the said company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandizes thereto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandizes returned in the voyages;" and, in general, "the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the said company." *Thomas Smith*, alderman of the city of London, is nominated as the "first and present governor," and twenty-four other members as the "first and present committees" of the company; but as these nominations were to continue in force only for a year from the date of the charter, the mode of electing their successors in office is next pointed out. For this purpose the company, or a majority of those "present at any public assembly, commonly called the court, holden for the said company," the governor always being one, are empowered to elect a deputy to act in the governor's absence;

and thereafter, "every year on the first day of July, or at any time within six days after that day, to assemble and meet together in some convenient place," and, while so assembled, to elect a governor and twenty-four committees for the ensuing year. In the event of the death or deprivation by misconduct of any of the persons thus elected, the company, again met in court, are authorized to supply the vacancies thus occurring, but only for the time of office which remained unexpired. Not only the officials thus elected were to swear "well and truly" to execute the offices committed to them, but "as well every one above named to be of the said company or fellowship, as all others to be hereafter admitted, or free of the said company, to take a corporal oath before the governor of the said company, or his deputy for the time being, to such effect, as by the said governor and company, or the more part of them, in any public court to be held for the said company, shall be in reasonable manner set down and devised, before they shall be allowed or admitted to trade or traffick as a freeman of the said company."

A.D. 1600.

In this last quotation the important point of membership is incidentally alluded to. A more explicit statement occurs in a subsequent clause, in which "all that are or shall be of the said company," and all their sons, "at their several ages of one and twenty years or upwards," and all their "apprentices, factors, or servants," "which shall hereafter be employed by the said governor and company, in the trade of merchandize of or to the East Indies," are empowered freely to traffic during the period and within the limits assigned to the company. The period is restricted to "fifteen years," with the promise of an extension to other fifteen, if asked by the company and approved by the crown, but the charter might be recalled at any time after a notice of two years.

Qualification for membership.

The space over which the company might trade is of enormous extent; and, though spoken of under the general name of the East Indies, is more particularly described as including "the countries and parts of Asia and Africa," and "all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza to the Streights of Magellan, where any trade or traffick of merchandize may be used or had." Within these limits the company are empowered to traffic freely "by seas, in and by such ways and passages already found out and discovered, or which shall hereafter be found out and discovered, as they shall esteem and take to be fittest;" the only restriction being, that "the same trade be not undertaken nor addressed to any country, island, port, haven, city, creek, town, or place, already in the lawful and actual possession of any such Christian prince or state, as at this present is or shall hereafter be in league or amity" with the British crown, and "who doth not or will not accept of such trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to be utterly against his or their good-will and liking."

Geographical limits.

A D. 1600.

Legislative
and judicial
powers.

The more effectually to carry on this trade, the company are authorized to meet from time to time, and make "such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances," as may seem "necessary and convenient" for the good government of the company, and of all their factors, masters, mariners, and other officers; and for the better advancement and continuance of the trade; and not only to make such laws, but to enforce the observance of them by inflicting upon offenders "pains, punishments, and penalties, by imprisonment of body, or by fines and amercements, or by all or any of them," it being, however, always understood that "the said laws, orders, constitutions, orders and ordinances be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the laws, statutes, or customs" of the realm.

Exclusive
privilege
of trade.

The privilege of trade within the limits above described is declared to belong exclusively to the company; and all subjects of the English crown, "of what degree or quality soever they be," are strictly forbidden, "by virtue of our prerogative royal, which we will not in that behalf have argued or brought in question," to "visit, haunt, frequent or trade, traffick or adventure, by way of merchandise, into or from any of the said East Indies, or into or from any the islands, ports, havens, cities, towns, or places aforesaid,"—every person or persons presuming to traffic in defiance of this prohibition "shall incur our indignation, and the forfeiture and loss of the goods, merchandizes, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this realm of England, or any of the dominions of the same, contrary to our said prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of these presents, as also of the ship and ships with the furniture thereof." One-half of the forfeitures thus incurred is reserved to the crown; the other half is granted to the company. The offenders are, moreover, "for their said contempt, to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to us, our heirs or successors, for so high a contempt, shall seem meet and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered until they and every of them shall become bound to pay unto the said governor for the time being, the sum of £1000 at the least" not to repeat the offence.

These severe enactments against interlopers strikingly contrast with the large discretion given to the company, who, in addition to an exclusive right of traffic carefully guarded against encroachment, are empowered, "for the better encouragement of merchants, strangers, or others, to bring in commodities to our realm," and "for any consideration or benefit to be taken to their own use," to "give license to any person or persons to sail, trade, or traffick into or from the said East Indies." To enhance the value of this large discretionary power, the queen gratuitously binds herself, her heirs and successors, not to grant license of trading within the limits of the charter to any person whatever "without the consent" of the company.

Other privi-
leges.

On the ground that the company "have not yet experienced of the kinds of commodities and merchandizes which are or will be vendible" in the East

Indies, "and therefore shall be driven to carry to those parts, in their voyages outward, divers and sundry commodities which are likely to be returned again" into the realm, the exports of their four first voyages are declared "free of custom, subsidy, or poundage, or any other duties or payments." On imports, during the whole period of the charter, credit of six months on the one half, and of twelve months on the other half, of the duties exigible, is to be allowed after sufficient security for ultimate payment has been given; and because the company "are like to bring to this our realm a much greater quantity of foreign commodities" than can be required for home consumption, the duties which might have been exigible on the export of such commodities as are afterwards reshipped for transport to other countries are to be remitted, provided the reshipment take place in English bottoms, and not later than thirteen months from the date of import. The only other privilege necessary to be mentioned is the permission annually to export the sum of £30,000 in bullion or coin, of which at least £6000 should previously be coined at the royal mint. This permission—which, owing to the crude ideas then generally entertained on the subject of the currency, was probably regarded at the time as the least defensible of all—was granted only on the express proviso, that after the first voyage a sum at least equal to that exported should previously have been imported.

Though the original adventurers contemplated trading on a joint stock, and several parts of the charter seem framed on the understanding that this original intention was to be carried out, the subject remains involved in the greatest obscurity. The words *joint stock* do not once occur in the charter; and there is nothing in any part of it to indicate that the 218 individuals to whom the charter was granted possessed any higher qualification than that of having signed the petition on which it proceeded. It is known that 101 individuals or firms became bound by their subscriptions to adventure on an experimental voyage, sums which, in the great majority of cases, amounted to £200 each, and formed an aggregate of £30,133, 6s. 8d.; but whether these were the only sums subscribed at the date of the charter, or whether all the new parties who concurred in petitioning the crown had previously qualified themselves for membership by subscribing, are points which it is impossible to decide with any degree of certainty. The only clause in the charter which bears on these points is one which makes it optional for the company to disfranchise those members who should fail against a certain day to pay up their subscriptions. The clause is as follows:—

Subscription
and pay-
ment of
stock.

"Provided always that if any of the persons before named and appointed by these presents, to be free of the said *Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies*, shall not before the going forth of the fleet appointed for this first voyage, from the port of London, bring in and deliver to the treasurer or treasurers appointed, or which, within the space of twenty days from the date hereof, shall be appointed by the said governor and company, or the more part of them, to receive the contributions and adventures, set down

A.D. 1600. by the several adventurers in this last and present voyage, now in hand to be set forth, such sums of money, as have been, by any of the said persons by these presents nominated to be of the said company, expressed, set down, and written in a book for that purpose, and left in the hands of the said Thomas Smith, governor of the said company, or of the said Paul Banning, alderman of London, and subscribed with the names of the same adventurers, under their hands, and agreed upon to be adventured in the said first voyage, that then, it shall be lawful for the said governor and company, or the more part of them, whereof the said governor or his deputy to be one, at any their general court, or general assembly, to remove, disfranchise, and displace him or them, at their wills and pleasures."

Letter of
Queen
Elizabeth.

In order to facilitate communication and friendly intercourse with the countries which might be visited during the first voyage under the charter, the commander was furnished with duplicate letters, in which the queen addressed their supposed sovereigns in the following terms:—

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.,—To the greate and mightie King of —, our lovinge Brother, greeting:

"Whereas Almighty God, in his infinite wisdome and providence, haith so disposed of his blessings, and of all the good things of this world, which are created and ordeined for the use of man, that howsoever they be brought forth, and do either originallie growe, and are gathered, or otherwise composed and made, some in one countrie, and some in another, yet they are, by the industrie of man, directed by the hand of God, dispersed and sent out into all the partes of the world, that thereby his wonderfull bountie in his creatures may appeare unto all nacions, his Divine Majestie havinge so ordeyned, that no one place should enjoy (as the native commodities thereof) all things apperteyninge to man's use, but that one countrie should have neede of another, and out of the abundance of the fruits which some region enjoyeth, that the necessities or wants of another should be supplied, by which meanes, men of severall and farr remote countries have commerce and traffique, one with another, and by their enterchange of commodities are liuked together in amytie and friendship:

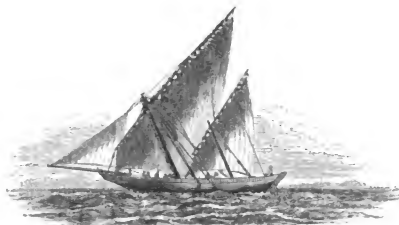
Queen's
letter.

"This consideration, most noble king, together with the honorable report of your majestie, for the well enterteyninge of strangers which visitt your countrie in love and peace (with lawful traffique of merchaundizinge) have moved us to geave licence to divers of our subjects, who have bene stirred up, with a desire (by a long and dangerous navigation) to finde out and visitt your territories and dominions, beinge famous in these partes of the world, and to offer you commerce and traffique, in buyinge and enterchaunginge of commodities with our people, accordinge to the course of merchaunts; of which commerce and interchanginge, yf your majestie shall accept, and shall receive and entertayne our merchaunts with favour, accordinge to that hope which hath encouraged them to attempt so long and dangerous a voiage, you shall finde them a people, in their dealinge and conversacion, of that justice and civilitie, that you shall not mislike of their repaire to your dominions, and upon further conference and inquisition had with them, both of their kinde of merchaundize broughte in their shippes, and of other necessarie commodities which our dominions may afforth, it may appeare to your majestie that, by their meanes, you may be furnished, in their next retourne into your portes, in better sort then you have bene heretofore supplied, either by the Spanyard or Portugale, who, of all other nacions in these partes of Europe, have onlie hetherto frequented your countries with trade of merchaundize, and have bene the onlie impediments, both to our subjects, and diverse other merchaunts in the partes of Europe, that they have not hitherto visited your countrie with trade, whilst the said Portugales pretended themselves to be the soveraigne lordes and princes of all your territories, and gave it out that they held your nacion and people as subjects to them, and, in their stiles and titles, do write themselves Kinges of the East Indies:

"And yf your majestie shall, in your princelie favour, accept, with good likinge, this

first repaire of our merchaunts unto your countrie, resortinge thether in peaceable traffique, and shall entertaine this their first voiage, as an introduction to a further continewance of friendshippe betweene your majestie and us, for commerce and intercourse betweene your subjects and ours, wee have geven order to this, our principall merchaunt (yf your majestie shall be pleased therewith) to leave in your countrie some such of our said merchaunts as he shall make choice of, to reside in your dominions, under your princelie and safe protecion, untill the retourne of another flete, which wee shall send unto you, who may, in the meane tyme, learne the language of your countrie, and applie their behavior, as it may best sorte, to converse with your majestie's subjects, to the end that amitie and friendshipp beinge entertayned and begun, the same may the better be continewed, when our people shall be instructed how to direct themselves accordinge to the fashions of your countrie.

"And because, in the consideration of the enterteyninge of amytie and friendshipp, and in the establishinge of an intercourse to be continewed betweene us, ther may be required, on your majestie's behaulfe, such promise or capitulacions to be performed by us, which wee cannot, in theise our lettres, take knowledge of, wee therefore pray your majestie to geave eare therein unto this bearer, and to geave him credit, in whatsoever he shall promise or undertake in our name, concerninge our amitye and entercourse, which promise, wee (for our parte), in the word of a prince, will see performed, and wilbe readie gratefullie to requite anie love, kindness, or favour, that our said subjects shall receive at your majestie's handes; prayinge your majestie that, for our better satisfacion of your kinde acceptannce of this our love and amytie offered your highenes, you would, by this bearer, give testimonie thereof, by your princelie lettres, directed unto us, in which wee shall receive very great contentement. And thus," &c.



MANCHÉ OF CALICUT.

A boat used on the Malabar coast, having a flat bottom, rendering it suitable for crossing the bars at the mouths of rivers.

BOOK II.


FROM THE DATE OF THE FIRST CHARTER TO THE AMALGAMATION OF THE LONDON AND ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANIES,

UNDER THE NAME OF THE

UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND, TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES.

CHAPTER I.

The first voyages of the Company—Localities selected—Opposition from the Dutch and the Portuguese—First English factory on the continent of India—Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the court of the Great Mogul—State of that court—Establishment of a trade with Persia.

HE interest which naturally attaches to the first voyage under an East India charter, will justify a larger detail than would be due to the incidents themselves, which are comparatively uninteresting. The *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, and *Susan*, already mentioned, together with the *Guest*, of 130 tons, added as a victualler, left Woolwich on the 13th of February, 1601, but were so long detained by contrary winds and the completion of arrangements at Dartmouth, that they were not able to quit the English coast till the 22d of April, when they sailed for the Canaries. While off the coast of Guinea they fell in with a Portuguese ship, outward bound, and took and plundered her. Having afterwards unloaded the *Guest* of the victuals which they had been unable to take on board when they sailed from England, they dismantled her, broke down her upper works for firewood, and left her a floating hulk. During their long delay in the English Channel, they had lost the opportunity of making a quick voyage; and began to suffer from scurvy, which prevailed to such an extent, that some of the vessels had not hands enough to manage them, and the merchants on board were obliged to act as common seamen. On the 9th of September they reached Saldanha Bay, where the sick rapidly recovered; the previous mortality, however, had been so great, that the number of deaths amounted to 105, or more than a fifth of the whole crews. On Sunday, the 1st of November, the Cape was doubled; and they proceeded northwards along the east coast of Madagascar, where a new attack of scurvy again proved very fatal, and obliged them to spend some

A.D. 1601.

Details of
the Com-
pany's first
voyage.

time on shore in the Bay of Antongil. On continuing their voyage across the Indian Ocean, they arrived, on the 9th of May, 1602, at the Nicobar Islands, without having seen any part of the continent of India. After a short stay they set sail for the island of Sumatra; and, on the 6th of June, cast anchor in the road of Acheen, on the north-west extremity of that island. Here they found about eighteen vessels from Bengal, Malabar, Gujerat, and other quarters, and were visited by two Dutch merchants, who had been left to learn the language and manners of the country. Everything gave indication of a hospitable reception; and a deputation was immediately sent ashore, to announce that the commander of the fleet was bearer of a letter from the most famous Queen of England to the most worthy King of Acheen and Sumatra. The day after his arrival, Lancaster himself went ashore, and, having been conducted with great ceremony to the king's presence, delivered his letter, and along with it a present of considerable value.

The interview was of the most amicable nature; and ultimately a treaty was formed, in which the leading privileges obtained by the English were, perfect freedom of trade, protection to life and property, the power of administering justice among their own countrymen according to English law, and full liberty of conscience. But while the natives displayed this friendly spirit, all the proceedings of the English were watched with the utmost jealousy by a third party. The Portuguese had an ambassador at Acheen, and it soon

Friendly reception at Acheen.



WOOLWICH, IN 1602.—Cruden's History of Gravesend.

became apparent that he was determined to leave no means untried to prevent the establishment of a trade, which he naturally regarded as an unjustifiable invasion of the Portuguese monopoly. Attempts to prejudice the king having failed, he determined on open hostility, and with that view despatched messengers to Malacca, to inform the authorities in the Portuguese settlement there of the arrival of the English ships, and urge the necessity of immediately sending a sufficient force to capture them. Fortunately his plans were discovered; and his messengers having been apprehended, the Portuguese in Malacca were not even made aware that the English had arrived.

Lancaster determined to turn this ignorance to good account; and, leaving the *Susan*, which had been sent round to Priaman, on the south coast of the island, to take in a cargo of pepper, set out with his other three vessels, and a

Predatory excursion.

A.D. 1603. Dutch ship of about 200 tons, which had obtained permission to join him, on a privateering cruise to the Straits of Malacca. Such an expedition was certainly little in accordance with the purely mercantile spirit in which the voyage had been professedly undertaken, and goes far to justify the account given by Sir William Monson, who says, in his *Naval Tracts*,¹ that Lancaster's "employment was as well to take by violence as to trade by sufferance;" and adds that this was "unworthy the name of an honest design, for the hands of merchants should not be stained or polluted with theft, for in such case all people would have liberty to do the like upon them." The English commander was not restrained by any scruples of this nature, and, when a large Portuguese ship made her appearance, somewhat grotesquely expressed his thankfulness to Providence for having thus furnished him with the means of lading his ships, and supplying all his other wants. Though the ship was of 900 tons burden, and had above 600 persons on board, the capture was easily effected. It proved a carrack, bound for Malacca, from St. Thomé, a Portuguese factory on the Coromandel coast, and so fully freighted that Lancaster, after occupying all the vacant room in his own vessels with calicoes, pintados, and other merchandise, was puzzled how to dispose of the residue, which would have sufficed to lade as many more ships if he had had them. Ultimately he resolved to return to Acheen, where he ingratiated himself still further with the king by liberal presents of the prize goods, and deposited what he could not take with him, to await the arrival of a new fleet from England.

Portuguese
carrack
taken.

Arrival at
Bantam.

On leaving Acheen on the 9th of November, the *Ascension*, in which all the pepper, cinnamon, and cloves which had previously been purchased, were loaded, was despatched for England. The *Dragon* and *Hector* continued their course in an opposite direction along the south coast of Sumatra to Priaman, where the *Susan* was found taking in her cargo. Leaving her with orders to sail homewards as soon as it was completed, Lancaster proceeded with the other two vessels through the Straits of Sunda, and, on the 16th of December, arrived in the road of Bantam, on the north-west extremity of the island of Java. Here, after the delivery of the queen's letter and a handsome present, his reception was as favourable as it had been at Acheen; and he found no difficulty in disposing of his prize goods to such advantage, that he had soon sold more than would pay for the lading of both the ships. By the 10th of February full cargoes of pepper were taken in; and on the 20th, after a regular factory had been established at Bantam, and a pinnace despatched to the Moluccas, for the purpose of attempting to secure a trade which might be available to the next ships from England, he took his final departure.

The voyage
home.

The voyage home was very stormy; and the *Dragon*, in particular, having lost her rudder, became so unmanageable, that Lancaster privately gave orders

¹ Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 231.

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